

109 Page from a Koran. After Hendley (No. 109, p. 135).

whither many of the Mughal artists had migrated with their working apparatus of sketches, designs and pounces, and where some of the great Mughal manuscripts also went. The *Pādshāhnāma* (No. 82) was in the royal library of Lucknow in 1776, where it was extensively refurbished, and a good number of paintings probably removed. Whether any were substituted is as yet a debatable point, as there is considerable confusion over the Mughal style from the reign of Shāh Jahān onwards. There are features in absolutely authentic manuscripts such as the *Gulistān* and *Būstān* of 1628–9 (Nos. 79–80) which appear to be of 18th-century date, but which it is absolutely impossible that they could be, as the *Gulistān* at least had left India for England by 1638.

In addition to the archaicizing work, the Delhi studio was turning out work in the latest Mughal style in these histories of Shāh Jahān (Nos. 107, 137) and other texts, which have a sumptuous appearance but do not repay close inspection. Then the heavy modelling, dead colours and weaknesses of drawing are only too apparent. Presumably, first-class artists were employed on the archaicizing work leaving the second-rank artists to get on with this type of work. Many artists in Delhi in the early 19th century commanded a wide range of styles depending on the patron for a particular project. Ghulām 'Alī Khān for example (Nos. 135–6, 138), worked for the Emperors in the Mughal style and for James Skinner in the 'Company' style. The best traditional work of this period was done for a remarkable patron, Mahārāo Rāja Vinay Singh of Alwar (1815–57), who maintained in his palace a flourishing studio for the production of manuscripts. As a patron he demanded the highest standards and invariably got them: standards of calligraphy, illumination and binding. One thing alone he could not command, artistic genius; the paintings in his manuscripts are excellent, far superior to the usual Delhi work, but the best artists had by now passed beyond the Mughal style. He employed Ghulām 'Alī Khān, for example, to illustrate some of the paintings of the *Gulistān* of 1844–56, his most important manuscript (No. 138), but this artist had twenty years earlier been working in a far more compelling manner for patrons such as James Skinner and John Fraser (Nos. 135–6); new life could not be breathed into this outworn idiom. It was Ghulām 'Alī Khān, however, who painted the last great work of the Mughal period, a portrait of the last Emperor, Bahādur Shāh II, bringing the insights of his Company manner to illuminate the pathos of the last descendant of Bābur, the Mughal conqueror of Hindustan.

While it is true that the influence of the Mughals was so pervasive that scarcely any region of India escaped being affected in its visual art forms, whether painting or architecture, nonetheless there were various areas on the fringes of the Mughal empire such as Orissa and Assam and the extreme south of India where this influence was only minimal and incidental, revealed more by details of costume or architecture than by any radical reappraisal of traditional methods in the light of new techniques. The whole of eastern India—Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam—is one such area that may usefully be considered together.

The Pāla style of palm-leaf illumination, although destroyed in its monastic strongholds at the end of the 12th century, survived among families of artists into the 15th century (No. 31), and its influence was still felt thereafter. Eastern India also responded to developments elsewhere; thus the two sets of covers of 1491 and 1499 (Nos. 35, 33) reflect respectively a progressive tradition which was common to western and

northern India during the 15th century, and an internal development within eastern India itself of progression towards extreme angularity. The school of painting at Gaur before 1531 (No. 44) also incorporated significant eastern elements, as seen for example in the Bengali architecture, and in the fondness for depicting figures within architectural niches under many-cusped arches, a significant element of the Pāla style.

The next available documents from the region show various developments, as there is a gap of another century between them and the 1531 *Sharafnāma*. These come from Bengal, Orissa and Assam. The Bengal documents are more book covers (No. 114) which perhaps show considerable influence from the Rajput/Popular Mughal style, although it is possible to explain them as the natural development from such examples as the 1491 Bihar covers. This style continues into the 18th century, but alongside it is a much more vigorous, more truly Bengali style associated with Midnapore in south-western Bengal exemplified by the manuscript of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulsi Dās in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, dated Midnapore, 1750, of which the *Simhāsanabattisi* of 1775 in the British Library is a stylistic derivative. This employs a vigorous line, of an angularity directly descended from the 1499 covers from Vishnupur, especially in profile, with bold, primary colours against a plain ground, often under cusped arches. In Bengal the palm leaf was succeeded by paper in the 15th century, the paper employed being of a quite thick variety of no great refinement, one side of which was dyed with yellow orpiment containing arsenic to act as an insecticide. The *poṭhī* format was still employed up to the 18th century, the leaves sometimes being of considerable size. As happened in western India, the ratio of height to width was reduced to give a larger text area for writing. All the Bengal illustrated wooden covers were made for this type of manuscript. From the 18th century are found Bengal manuscripts of codex format, often sewn in a single section with card covered with cloth as bindings, of which the Midnapore manuscripts are good examples.

In Orissa the palm leaf continued in general use up to the 19th century, although paper manuscripts in codex format are found from a century earlier. All known palm-leaf manuscripts from Orissa are of comparatively late date and use the palmyra, on which the text is incised with a stylus in the southern Indian manner, and then inked. In Orissa there flourished from at least the 17th century a school of manuscript illustration in which the drawing like the text was incised onto the leaf. After the basic outline was drawn, it was filled in with more detailed drawing, in which degrees of light and dark were achieved by variations in the depth of incision. Solid areas were filled in by a most precise and delicate use of cross-hatching. In all cases the relationship between text and illustration is so close as to suggest that they are both the work of the same person.

The first examples of the style come from the late 17th century, and are apparently associated with the small state of Khurda. They exhibit a graceful and simple outline drawing combined with the most exquisite attention to detail where appropriate in architecture and textiles, against the severely plain ground of the leaf itself. Only in a certain sharpness of feature do they display the angularity traditionally associated with Orissan drawing. A *Gītagovinda* in this style is dated c. 1690 (No. 115), which has some colouring. An earlier date than this has been claimed for certain other fragments, particularly those in the Asutosh Museum, in

which the drawing is spread over several sewn-together leaves, but in fact in style and technique they are indistinguishable from the 18th-century manuscripts, which usually are in an immensely ponderous style. The heaviness of limb which is present in the previous century's figures is now unrelieved by the lightness and grace of its line, while the contrast in the 17th-century style between areas of exquisitely detailed work and of blank background which gives it so much of its charm has been blurred by the inclusion of too much detail and the consequent lessening of empty space. The result is sometimes too fussy. In this century also colouring is more widely applied to some of the details, particularly figures, architecture and plants, which tends to offset the fussiness of detail in the best examples, such as the lovely manuscripts of the *Amaruśataka* in Bhubaneshwar and the *Rāsakrīḍa* in the British Library (No. 1117). In the 19th century when there appear many more such manuscripts, colour washes of reds or yellows are applied to the ground rather than to the figures with even greater loss of distinctiveness.

It would seem clear that there were several separate centres of manuscript production in Orissa, but it is not yet possible to distinguish them adequately. They are all united however by the continuous use of such ancient motifs as the positioning of figures under cusped arches or in pavilions. Even in the best-known of the paper-period manuscripts from Orissa, the dispersed 18th-century *Gītagovinda* which owes so much to a Rajput influence, doubtless brought in the train of one of the Rajput governors for the Mughals, this usage is found. The brilliance of colouring of this manuscript is very unlike the palm-leaf Orissan manuscripts, but the luxuriance of the vegetation and the fussiness of detail are very similar.

One of the earliest reliable historical references we have to Assam concerns its manuscript traditions. Bāna in his biography of the Emperor Harsha (r. 606–646) tells us that King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam) sent as presents to Harsha various treasures including jewels, silks and 'volumes of fine writing with leaves made from aloe bark, and of the hue of the ripe pink cucumber'. This writing material is called *sāñcipāt*, and has been described above. Although no manuscripts of this early date have been recovered, we do have some from the 15th century (British Library Or. 8905), now blackened with age, while the 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts fully merit Bāna's lovely description of the colour (Nos. 120–2). Paper was also used for Assamese manuscripts, but of a peculiar kind. Known as *tulāpāt*, it is traditionally made from ginned and felted cotton.

The earliest reference to Assamese manuscript illustration occurs in the biography of the Vaishnava saint Shankaradeva (c. 1449–1558) who is said to have painted on *tulāpāt* scenes from the celestial worlds, and also the picture of an elephant which he then stuck on to a wooden manuscript case and presented to his royal patron in Cooch Behar; Shankaradeva himself spent most of his life at the court of the king of Cooch Behar, having been driven out of Assam proper, and any paintings by him would be in a similar style. However no surviving manuscript with illustrations in the Assamese tradition is earlier than the mid-17th century. The manuscript on *tulāpāt* of a *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the Bali Sattrā in Nowgong bears a date equivalent to AD 1539, but this is highly suspect as it is an added date, not part of the colophon. It, like the *Kīrtanaghoṣā* (No. 1119) in the same style, bears plentiful evidence of a 17th-century origin

through the ubiquitous presence of the type of *pagrī* or turban associated with Popular Mughal and Rajput painting of this century, and which is seen in no Hindu or Jain manuscript of an earlier period. There is moreover not a single other example of the style dated from earlier than the latter part of the 17th century. The presence of this turban indicates a date for both the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Kīrtanaghoṣā* of slightly later than the recorded importation of artists into Assam under Pratāp Singh (1603–41). Many of these artists were from Cooch Behar, whose Rājas were of the same family as the Darrang Rājas of Assam, and which had come under Mughal rule early in the reign of Jahāngīr.

No artistic productions are known to originate definitely from Cooch Behar before the end of the 18th century, but that is not to say that they did not exist. The origin of the Assamese style must be sought in manuscripts and artists who must have journeyed up the Brahmaputra from Bengal, possibly under the Pālas, but more likely following the collapse of that dynasty and the establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal about 1200. We know that Buddhist monks fled to Nepal, where Buddhism was still prospering. What more likely than that Hindus would have fled to a neighbouring Hindu kingdom such as Assam, which remained free of Muslim domination for many centuries following the collapse of the Pālas? For this Assamese school is full of references to the Pāla style, *i.e.* the habit of showing all activities under lobed arches, extended in the case of these very wide leaves latitudinally across the page, and the representation of characters using *mudrās* to express themselves. The exquisite colours of Pāla miniatures have been succeeded however, as in many of the medieval schools, by a crude preponderance of blue and red which are universally used for the backgrounds, the red below the arches and blue above. There is of course a horizontal viewpoint. The line is crude, but immensely vigorous, displaying the strength of a developing rather than a declining style. All figures are in strict profile. Women wear wide skirts with a kind of scarf around their upper parts and without any covering for their hair which is tied in a bun at the nape. Men wear the *dhotī* and Popular Mughal turban. Trees are stylized monochrome ovals with the outline of branches and leaves sketched over them. Architectural elements are indicated by rudimentary outlines. The paintings of these manuscripts invariably share a page with the text which is usually in lines above the painting, although sometimes for special effect the text is in the centre of the folio as in the *Rāsamaṇḍala* where Krishna and the *gopīs* form their circle all around the text panel, and occasionally a smaller painting is added on top of the larger one, but to one side. Important passages have marginal illumination all around both text and painting, usually of a plain colour with yellow or white simple patterns on top. The total effect although crude in aesthetic terms is both charming and immensely effective at the level of religious art.

Although apparently such manuscripts were connected particularly with the Vaishnava *sattras* or monasteries of Assam, yet they were patronized and commissioned by the Ahom kings who followed Shaiva/Shakta Hinduism. Rudra Singh (1696–1714) for example commissioned a *Gītagovinda* manuscript and others were produced in the reign of his successor Sib Singh (1714–44) in this style, though it is noticeable that developments have occurred in the style in the meantime. Elements of landscape have been introduced, the function of the multi-cusped arch

overhead has become much less clear and it is used for decoration. In one manuscript (the *Ānandalahiri* of about 1730) the curves have been ironed out into right angles.

It was when the Ahom kings began to commission illustrated manuscripts that most changes came over this monastic style. The Ahom kings were able to resist attempts by the early Mughals to add Assam to their empire, but in 1662 an expedition led by Mīr Jumla captured their capital Garhgaon and succeeding in making the Ahom king Jayadhwaja pay tribute to Delhi. The success was shortlived in imperialist terms, for the Ahoms were able to recover their position over the next 20 years, and Assam was finally lost to the Mughals by 1681. It is interesting to note that the Mughal commander at one time was Rāja Rām Singh of Amber; he was recalled in 1676 and doubtless brought with him the perfectly preserved group of Assamese manuscripts now in the royal library of Amber (Jaipur). These are on strawberry-pink leaves of *sāñcipāt*, with beautiful *pārsvacitra* or decorations on the edges of the leaves.

One of the results of the Mughal attempts to conquer Assam was its being opened up to outside influences, and there are references to artisans from outside Assam being brought there in the 16th and early 17th centuries. This included apparently under Mīr Jumla's occupation of Garhgaon the introduction of painters from Delhi, some of whom stayed there. Certainly it is at this time that the kings began to patronize painters to illustrate their manuscripts, and it was under Rudra Singh (1696–1714) that formal court dress in the Mughal style was introduced. It was however under the patronage of his son Sib Singh (1714–44) and his four successive queens that we first find considerable numbers of illustrated manuscripts of royal provenance, associated particularly with the flowering of Assamese literature that took place at the court led by Kavichandra Chakravarti, who composed the first Assamese translation of the Vaishnava *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (No. 122) at the instigation of the first queen Ratnakānti, and of the *Ānandalahiri*, a Tantric work, at the instigation of the second, Phuleshvarī. This lady was an ardent persecutor of the Vaishnavas in Assam. Her death in 1731 was followed by the king's marriage to her cousin, a Vaishnava lady, Ambikā, for whom was compiled an impressive work on elephantology (*Hastividyārṇava*, No. 120) by Sukumāra Barkāth in 1734, and the *Dharma Purāṇa* by Kavichandra in 1736 (No. 121). There are several other manuscripts also surviving from this period. All of them display the same characteristics of being on a grand scale, with large sheets of aloe bark, lavishly illustrated and beautifully written, while often the portraits of kings and queens are added being shown receiving the manuscript from the author or scribe.

By the 1730s the Ahom court style differed considerably from the popular Assamese style of No. 119, although the latter was in continuous production up to the end of the 18th century. Whereas the popular school retained many of the characteristics of early eastern Indian painting, such as the presentation of all events and personages under elongated architectural motifs, and is remarkable chiefly perhaps for the immense physical vigour displayed by its protagonists, such characteristics were abandoned by the Ahom court painters in favour of a bland conformity to certain Mughal ideals. Important male figures now wear Mughal costume, and the ladies have exchanged their billowing skirts for a sari. Both sexes now wear shawls round their upper bodies. Modelling is sometimes attempted, and, quite often, faces are in three-quarter profile.

Occasionally now the viewpoint is raised so that trees can be shown in the middle distance. Very rarely is a horizon shown (there are one or two instances in the *Hastividyārṇava* of 1734) but more usual are a few clouds at the top of the flat green ground. All the cusped arches have disappeared, but are replaced often by a stepped interface between text and painting possibly derived from the rectangular upper features of the *Ānandalahiri* manuscript.

Like the Mughal school, the Ahom court style suddenly appears without any transitional stage, and may perhaps be put down to individual genius, whether of patron or artist. In fact three artists seem to have been responsible for most of the school's surviving production in Sib Singh's reign – Badha Ligorā, who painted the *Śaṅkhaśūdravādha* of 1726, the *Dharmapurāṇa* of 1736 (No. 121) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Book 6 of 1737, while two artists Dilbar and Dosāi were responsible for the *Hastividyārṇava* of 1734 (No. 120). In the succeeding reigns there are very few surviving productions and none of royal provenance until the *Daraṅgarājavarṇasāvali* of 1791, a history of the kings of Darrang who were subordinate to the Ahom kings and related to the kings of Cooch Behar. It is noticeable that Bengali influence has increased in this manuscript considerably, especially in the architecture where the flat-roofed Ahom palaces have been replaced by curving roofs of Bengali provenance. This is taken to the furthest extreme in the last great royal Assamese manuscript, the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of 1836 (No. 122), commissioned by Purandara Singh, the last ruler of Assam (1818 and 1832–8). Although new elements in the 1836 manuscript include paintings of British officers and of sepoys in British uniforms, the style is still triumphantly Assamese, and bears no trace of Europeanisms in its technique. Indeed, the artist Durgārāma Betha has carried the rather desiccated Ahom court style to much greater heights of inventiveness, experimenting freely with landscape and architecture. The ground is covered with tufts of flowers or shrubs growing out of little hillocks, while mountainous terrain is represented in one of the most charming landscape stylizations ever seen even in India, hillocks in rows behind one another all of different colours, with animals and birds playing hide-and-seek among them, and flowers and trees crowning their summits. Everywhere are birds and insects, sometimes dominating the composition. The manuscript marks the end of the independent style of Assam, since with Purandara Singh's dethronement in 1838, there was no significant patron left.

Southern India, the southern part of the Deccan plateau and the coastal plains down to Cape Comorin, although subject to periodic raids and conquest by the Muslim rulers of the north, developed along her own lines in comparative freedom. No amount of cross-fertilization of cultures could induce her to abandon her traditional, austere approach to the palm leaf, in striking contrast to the lavish paintings on temple and palace walls. There is not a single painted palm-leaf manuscript later than the Digambara Jaina manuscripts of Moodabidri of c. 1112, whose style seems related to the fragmentary frescoes found on the earlier Badami caves of northern Karnataka. Not a single illustrated manuscript is associated with the great kingdom of Vijayanagar (1336–1565), where we know painting flourished in fresco form. Even the art of incising drawings on palm leaves which flourished in Orissa had no discernible influence further south. The huge palm-leaf manuscript libraries of

Trivandrum, Tanjore, Mysore and Madras can only muster between them two solitary folios showing this art, of 19th-century date. Nor is it possible to point to more than a few wooden manuscript covers decorated in any way. The Telugus were slightly less austere than the Tamils, and there are a few interesting covers decorated with ivory, either in the form of ivory inlaid in wood (No. 123) or complete sheets of ivory pegged to wooden cores and incised.

The establishment of schools of manuscript illustration on paper in the Muslim courts of the northern Deccan in the later 16th century seems to have had little effect on Hindu manuscript production for about a century. The use of paper was slowly spreading southwards during the 16th century through the Mahratta country, and it is late in the following century that the increasingly politically important Mahratta courts began to patronize painting. The most flourishing school of Mahratta manuscript production was, however, at their court in Tanjore. Venkajī, half-brother to Shivājī, the fiercest antagonist of the Mughals in the Deccan, and a general in the service of the Ādil Shāhs of Bijapur, drove out the last of the Nāyak rulers of Tanjore and established himself on the throne in 1676. Sahājī II, his successor, was a patron of art and literature, but few, if any, paintings have survived from this period. Surviving examples of Tanjore manuscript painting from the mid-18th century are highly distinctive, and are fully formed. The origin of the style is to be found in Vijayanagar art of the 16th century, of which survive only frescoes at Lepakshi and a few other places, but which must have been widespread over most of southern India. The collapse of the empire in 1565 heralded the desiccation and ossification of the style into a highly stylised art of icon painting, with heavily modelled and elaborately jewelled, crowned and gilded figures of the deity. Under the patronage of the Mahratta kings of Tanjore some of the 18th-century manuscripts, such as the earliest *Āśvaśāstra* and *Gajāśāstra* manuscripts, now in the Saraswati Mahal Library in Tanjore, display a leavening of this heavy style with elements, particularly colouring, of Deccani painting, transmuted intact from the 17th century. These delightful manuscripts on the origin, classification and care of horses and elephants, inhabit a world of colour and fantasy. Suddenly, under the cultured Sarabhoji II (1797–1833), a bibliophile in the European tradition, who reorganized the palace library, had thousands of manuscripts collected and copied, and collected books in English and French from the presses of London and Paris, this style was exposed to a disastrous European influence, resulting in a coarsening and a lowering of standards through an attempt to conform to wretched European ideas of modelling and landscape.

The earliest Tanjore manuscripts are in a large, upright bound format, but more usual from the time of Sarabhoji on is a reversion to the *poṭhī* format on a large scale, with the text in a central panel within wide margins running from edge to edge and crossing over each other. These margins could then be decorated with floral and arabesque motifs, often derived in the 19th century from European rather than Indian inspiration. Miniatures, if added, would be within the central panel (No. 124). This type of *poṭhī* complete with marginal decorations was a model for the production of the early lithographic presses of Bombay, which kept to the traditional format for the production of Hindu texts such as the epics and *Purāṇas*.

In the Deccan itself a similar Mahratta style seems to have been

practised in the late 18th century in Nagpur, and a flourishing southern school, allied to that of Tanjore, in Mysore. Under the patronage of the Mysore Rājas, lavishly gilded manuscripts in Kannada of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and similar texts were prepared in the 19th century.

Throughout the centuries in which Muslim and Hindu book-production had continued side by side, there had been scarcely any *rapprochement* between the two until the 18th century. In Kashmir, the traditional format of birch bark had been changed to accommodate the bark sheets being sewn and bound, and in Rajasthan we begin to find paper manuscripts being sewn, even if as yet only in a single section, from the mid-17th century. Yet it was not until Hindu patrons demanded from their scribes and illuminators, as well as their painters, the standards which Muslim patrons expected as of right, that Hindu manuscripts approached in quality those of Persian manuscripts. For no matter how much critical attention they paid to the paintings in their manuscripts, Hindu patrons had very low standards of expectation from their scribes. Even so important work as the Mewar *Rāmāyaṇa* of 1649–53 (Nos. 91–7) is written in a thoroughly careless manner, with mistakes painted out in yellow rather than the whole page being rewritten. Until, in fact, Hindus were willing to treat calligraphy as a serious art, no improvements along these lines could be expected. It was in Kashmir that standards were first established in this field.

The Kashmiri style of painting has an obscure origin not yet properly fathomed. It is found only in 18th- and 19th-century manuscripts, and is there fully formed. The paintings are always on a small scale, enclosed by the text, with simple compositions, often a group of people in front of a pavilion to left or right, set in a landscape. Recession in the landscape is attempted by drawing various horizons across it, each of the sections being differently coloured, and usually with purple rocks on top of each horizon. In Persian manuscripts, humans tend to wear antique Persian dress rather than contemporary costume, with the high Chagatay headdress and long gown for women and long, front-opening gowns (*peshvaz*) for men. The architecture is usually a simple pavilion in contemporary style with a canopy stretched from it. There is a marked fondness for very bright reds and oranges for items of dress, liberally covered with gold, with greens, browns and purples in the landscape. The horizon is often dotted with tall firs, the sky beyond being slate-blue.

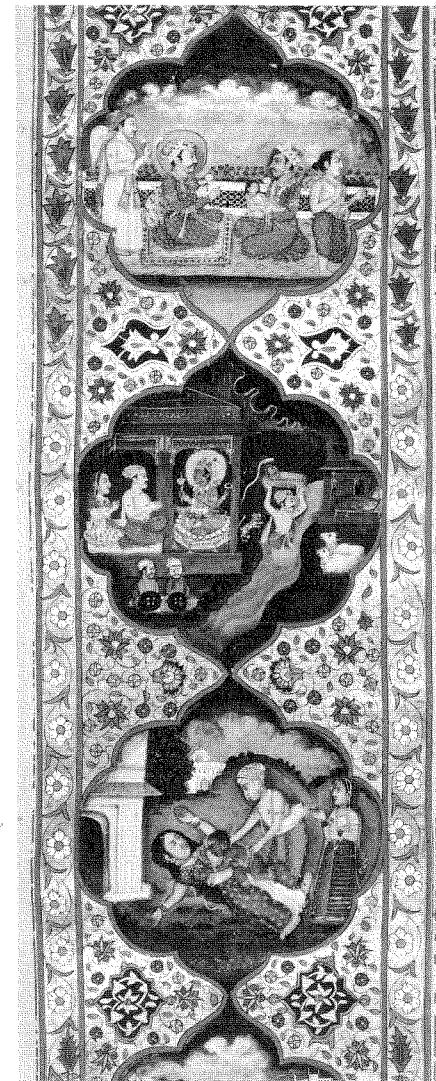
Comparatively few of these manuscripts bear dates or provenances, but for the latter the place mentioned is 'in Kashmir', *i.e.* the vale of Kashmir around Srinagar. The manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* (No. 125) from Rajauri offers perhaps some evidence as to the origin of the style, as many of the characteristic traits of the Kashmiri style are present therein already. This we have seen is the product of the influence of Delhi artists on some unknown local style. Rajauri is on the normal Mughal route from the Panjab up to the vale of Kashmir. Going further back in time and further down onto the plains, there is in a private collection in London a manuscript in Panjabi of the *Āśvamedhaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* dated 1749/1692, which bears numerous illustrations in two styles, the earlier being a provincial Mughal style of the late 17th century, the other a Kashmiri style of a century later. In the earlier style it exhibits numerous features, like the Rajauri manuscript, which are later incorporated into the Kashmiri style, particularly the landscape (which is very hilly, so hence probably from near the mountains) and architectural



elements. Here in this Hindu manuscript, however, the people wear normal contemporary dress. The absence of any Hindu manuscript from Kashmir of a narrative kind (rather than the ubiquitous collections of *stotras*, *Pañcaratna* etc.) makes comparison difficult, but obvious resemblances between the *Aśvamedhaparvan* and the Kashmiri Sanskrit anthology (No. 126) are the use of spandrels to close off the top two corners, and the headgear worn by pundits and Brahmans, a cloth bag that covers the hair on top of the head and encloses it at the back also. In the latter manuscript the few lay male figures all wear the short *jāma* and turban of Popular Mughal work of the 17th century.

It would seem then that the style of Kashmir is based at least partly on a late 17th-century provincial style from the northern Panjab which spread up into the northern-most hills via such places as Rajauri, and in Kashmir may have influenced an already existing style about which we know nothing as yet. There is every likelihood that a Sultanate style was in existence in Kashmir based on 15th-century Shiraz work, which would account for the format of the Persian manuscripts illustrated in the valley – very archaic in layout, with their small paintings enclosed in the text. This gradual diffusion of artistic styles to Kashmir via both artists and the physical travels of manuscripts (the *Aśvamedhaparvan* travelled to Kashmir where it was added to) is in contrast to the way styles developed in the hill states east of the Sutlej. Being ruled by Hindu chiefs favouring a 'Rajput' style of art, developing within their own traditions as there was no style in neighbouring territories sufficiently in tune for them to be influenced by, they were suddenly exposed to a full blast of Mughal influence of the Muhammad Shāh period by artists fleeing Delhi during the disasters of the 18th century.

It has scarcely been necessary in this discussion of Kashmiri painting to distinguish between Muslim and Hindu styles, for here in Kashmir there occurred in the 18th century a spontaneous synthesis, in which Hindu manuscript illumination came closest to Muslim. They adopted the same format as Muslim manuscripts, the bound volume, with the text, beautifully written by Kashmiri scribes in an elegant *Nāgarī* within gilded and coloured margins in a central panel, on fine paper, with border decorations of floral subjects around miniatures, and in one manuscript at least (No. 126), uniquely, an attempt at the *hashīyas* illuminated in gold as in Mughal manuscripts. The typical Kashmiri illumination of *sarlavḥ* and *unvān*, broad bands in gold, blue and pink providing the ground for arabesques and flowers, a style based on a certain strand of Mughal illuminations found as early as the 1570 *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (No. 57), is found as the frontispiece to Hindu and Muslim manuscripts alike. The elegance of the *Nāgarī* script found in fine-quality Kashmiri manuscripts is unique in India; only Jaipur manuscripts can compare with it, but here the scribes were often Kashmiri anyway. They revived the ancient practice of writing with gold and silver ink on blue or black paper (No. 11), a characteristic of Nepalese manuscripts but not seen in Indian manuscripts before. They even were prepared to bind their manuscripts in leather – although this does not appear on illuminated manuscripts, it does on birch-bark manuscripts bound in codex form. In the mid-18th century they had adopted the vertical format of Persian manuscripts (as in No. 126), with the text parallel to the short side of the folio; however, by the end of the century they had reverted generally for their *guṭkas* (small bound volumes) to writing parallel to the long side, and binding



130 Vasudeva arranges the transfer of the babies; Nanda carries the infant Krishna across the Jumna; and Krishna suckles to death the demoness Pūtānā (No. 130, p. 145).

along that edge. The boards were sometimes painted and lacquered, but more usually covered in cloth, as in Jaipur, embroidered with silk or gold or silver wire (Nos. 128–9).

The Mahārājas of Jaipur from Jai Singh II (1700–43), the famous astronomer and builder of the city of Jaipur, began to commission new first-class work for their already well-stocked *poṭhikhāna*, and to bring the standards prevailing in Kashmir to the plains. A lovely manuscript of the *Sarasarasagrantha* dated 1794/1737, is perhaps the earliest example of this trend, apparently commissioned by Jai Singh when in Agra. It is in both Persian and Hindi, the former in elegant *Nasta'liq* on gold-sprinkled paper in central panels, the latter in equally elegant *Nāgarī* in side panels on the bias in white clouds against gold, decorated with flowers, with triangular panels of illumination and thirty-three paintings. Succeeding manuscripts done at Jaipur or commissioned from Kashmiri scribes continue this trend. It seems to have been partly occasioned by a desire of Hindu patrons to have manuscripts of the Hindu sacred texts as beautiful and elegant as copies of the Koran, and the number of texts finely illuminated in this way is small, principally the *Bhagavadgītā* with its associated smaller texts (No. 129), the *Devīmāhātmya*, and some Shaiva *stotras*, while the *Gītāgovinda* (No. 128), though more a poetic than religious text, was also so treated.

These texts as well as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and a few others were also written in minute script on long paper scrolls and handsomely illuminated. This kind of work appears to have been done at various centres in northern India – Jaipur, Alwar, Benares and perhaps some others – which makes use of Persian features such as the *sarlavḥ* to begin the scroll, and largely borrows the early 19th-century Delhi style for the miniatures (No. 130). These features were generally diffused throughout northern India in the early 19th century, so that many Hindi and Sanskrit texts are automatically enclosed within margins ruled in gold and colours and bound up in codex form.

#### 84 'Anvār-i Suhaylī'

The Lights of Canopus, by Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (see No. 49).

Two sub-imperial manuscripts of this popular text are known. This one is dated 1009/1600–01 at Ahmadabad, the capital of the province of Gujarat, copied by one Taymur Humus for an unnamed patron, the other undated, of about 1610.<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Azīz Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was the Governor of Gujarat in 1600, and may have commissioned this Ms. in Ahmadabad. When in Hajipur in Bihar in 1583, he had similarly commissioned an illustrated copy of an astronomical text<sup>2</sup>. Ahmadabad was the seat of government of the *subah* of Gujarat, one of the most prosperous in the Empire – it was given in turn to Azīz Koka and 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khānkhānān, while Prince Murād held it from 1593 till his death in 1599. The two former were both patrons of art, while Murād would have had access to his father's studio. There is no evidence of an indigenous Popular Mughal school in Ahmadabad unlike Agra, and therefore

artists would have been attached to the suites of the great nobles from the capital rather than working in the city itself.

The 43 miniatures in this Ms. are stylistically in two groups. The first, much the larger, is a simplified version of the Mughal style, in bright colours with on the whole little subtlety of colouring. Prominent in this group are Persian effects of intertwining trees and flowering shrubs in serpentine shape, as well as on occasion a total disregard of the naturalistic rendition of spatial relationships built up laboriously in the Mughal studio since the *Hamzanāma* years. He uses a simplified landscape style, of plain grounds filled with flowers, with abrupt colour changes to signify recession, and lumpish, ill-defined rocks of variegated colour. Our artist may be regarded perhaps as one initially trained in a non-Mughal idiom, who sought patronage at the imperial court, was perhaps trained by an Iranian such as Āqā Rīzā, but was then dismissed in the 1590s to seek his living from other patrons. Other work is known from his hand (see No. 85).



84 f.31b. Ghanīm carries the stone-lion up the mountain. By the same artist as 85.

A small group of paintings in this Ms. is by an artist much more attuned to the latest style of the Mughal court. His technique is much more complex, allowing subtle effects of colouring on the ground, where he uses stippling, while his animals are subtly drawn and modelled, as distinct from the charming but linear animals of the other artist.

The paintings in this Ms. vary considerably in size and shape, some being retained within the oblong format of the text panels, others protruding into the margins in various ways. The total effect is somewhat undisciplined, as compared with a royal Ms. of the time. The calligraphy is a good *Ta'liq*, but rather compressed.

British Library, London, Or.6317.

ff.207; 30 × 19.5cm; paper, creamy-brown, unburnished; 21 lines *Ta'liq* script in panels 20 × 11.5cm, with margins ruled in lines of gold, blue, brown, and green; one *sarlavḥ* in colours and gold, with gold floral decoration round the

colophon; various seals and inscriptions on the recto of the first page have been overpasted; 43 paintings of varied sizes; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1968, p.45. BL 1977, pp.63-4. BM 1976, p.58. Pinder-Wilson 1969.

<sup>1</sup>British Library, Or.13942.

<sup>2</sup>IP, pp.19-23.

### 85 'Zafarnāma'

Illustrated on p.102.

The Book of Victories of Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, the history of Tīmūr, the ancestor of the Mughals, was compiled from the records kept by the conqueror's secretaries and turned into elegant prose by the author at the command of Tīmūr's grandson Ibrāhīm Sultān in Shiraz in 828/1425.

The earliest illustrated Indian Ms. of this text appears to be this Ms., executed in a sub-imperial style in 1009/1600-01. The scribe is unnamed; he has a most

elegant *Ta'liq* hand. There are seven miniatures, all full-page. The Ms. is linked in its format and painterly style with the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* Ms. of the same year (No.84). The scribe is different, but the margins of the text panels are in exactly the same uncommon combination of gold, blue, brown and green, and the paper is the same.<sup>1</sup> At least two hands can be distinguished in the paintings, the majority by the artist who contributed most of the paintings in the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. Details of architecture, sky, the tiling of the floor are identical in some of the paintings, while the human type of this *Zafarnāma* artist conforms very closely to that in the other Ms. Both show very clearly on occasion a non-Mughal approach to composition, where a mountainous terrain provides an opportunity for dividing the composition into upper and lower halves with separate activities in each. Rock formations with their lumpy outlines and two-colour effects are identical. The similarities are so obvious that the *Zafarnāma* of 1600 may be assigned to the same atelier as the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, which we have seen to be most likely that of the Governor of Ahmadabad, Mīrzā Azīz Koka.

British Library, London, Or.1052.

ff.333; 31 × 20.5cm; paper, creamy-brown, unburnished; 21 lines of *Ta'liq* script in panels 20 × 11.5cm with ruled margins in gold, blue, brown and green; one *sarlavḥ*; seven paintings, unascibed, full page within the same type of ruled margins; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.176. BL 1977, p.154. Wilkinson 1934.

<sup>1</sup>An otherwise undated and unascibed Koran in the British Library (Or.13803) has this same combination of marginal colouration, and may be attributed to the same manuscript studio. In addition, the *Razmnāma* of 1605, published briefly in Chaghtai 1943-4, plates 2-6A, and now vanished, appears to be from this same studio, and written by the calligrapher of the *Zafarnāma*. Chaghtai's list of contributing artists is unfortunately too confused to be of use here.

### 86 'Shāhnāma'

Illustrated on p.102.

The epic history of the Persian kings by Firdausī (see No.22).

This Ms. bears the inscription that it was given by his late majesty Jahāngīr in the 8th year of the reign (1022/1613) to Ilāhvirdī Chela, and that the latter gave it to his brother Khvāja Muhammad Rashīd. Ilāhvirdī Chela is known as a courtier who rose high in the service of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and there is no reason to doubt the inscription. However one of the miniatures (f.274a) bears the date 1025/1616.<sup>1</sup> There are 89 miniatures, most with attributions to artists in a neat hand in black ink on the pictures them-

selves, in a manner never seen in an imperial painting.

The style of the miniatures is unusually stiff and stilted, being cramped into a part of a quite small text panel. A closer examination reveals that the Mughal paintings are in fact overpaintings, and that the paintings of an earlier manuscript have been Mughalized. A set of Persian paintings lies underneath, of probable 15th-century date, judging by the appearance of the manuscript whose main features the Mughal artists have kept, but altered in details of faces, costumes and particularly landscape and buildings. Underneath the monochrome landscape of Mughal paint may be seen when suitably lit the flowering and fruiting vegetation beloved of Persian landscape. Flaking paint in places reveals a different composition or colour beneath. Only occasionally however is any area of text covered up, as in f.372a, building the wall against Gog and Magog, where the upper quarter of the picture is painted over a few lines of text originally written on the bias. The artists named are, principally, Qāsim, Kamāl, Shamāl, Banvāri and Bhagvati. Qāsim and Kamāl are known as artists who worked on the *Rāmāyaṇa* done for 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khānkhanān from 1589-98; various Banvāris are known - this one could be the same as the Banvāri Khurd (the younger) who worked on the non-imperial 1598 *Razmnāma* (No.88). Qāsim worked also on the Khānkhanān's MS. of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw now in Berlin, before 1617, so it would seem that the *Shāhnāma* ought to be attributed to his studio also.

However, this neat solution is belied by the evidence of the dated painting, which year, 1616, is apparently after the presentation of the manuscript in 1613. The inference is that Ilāhvirdī Chela had the original Persian manuscript repainted in the Mughal style; although this practice was usual with Jahāngīr, it would be a doubtful, even dangerous, course for a courtier to do the same to an imperial present. This would also involve Ilāhvirdī Chela having access to a studio whose artists worked habitually for the Khānkhanān. We are surely justified in concluding that the author of the inscription was right in his facts but mistaken as to the precise date.

Banvāri's style is characteristically sub-imperial Mughal, *i.e.* the imperial style much simplified. Qāsim, Kamāl and Shamāl on the other hand betray a much more Iranian style, related to that of Qazvin. Qāsim's work in the Amīr Khusraw Ms. in Berlin is in any case in an idiom still basically Iranian, but with Mughal overtones. The Khānkhanān would seem to have recruited some of his artists direct from Iran, but obviously had, in deference to the Emperors' taste,

to instruct them to Mughalize their work, which was probably done through the medium of such artists as Banvāri.

British Library, London, Add.5600.

Provenance: ex-N. Halhed Collection; acquired in 1795.

ff.585; 31.5 × 20cm; original panels of text (16.5 × 10cm) of ivory paper with 25 lines of *Nasta'liq* in four columns within margins ruled in gold and colours; headings in *Thuluth* in panels; set in a darker and thinner 18th-century paper with elaborate pink markers and painting protectors; *'unwān* around opening of preface (a version of the old pre-Baisunghur preface) and one *sarlavḥ* beginning the text proper both probably Indian; 89 miniatures, all overpaintings, mostly occupying part of a text panel (for list of artists see BL 1977); early 17th-century Indian covers, with flap, of boards with scenes of a lion fighting a buffalo and other animals and birds in a landscape painted in gold on black and lacquered, slightly damaged, with fine doublures of red morocco of flowers and birds in gold on red, laid into an 18th-century frame of leather painted black and tooled in gold, with a leather spine of alternate buff and black panels tooled in gold; the original flap connector, or possibly spine, of plain black leather with stamped medallions in gold, was set in black leather and reused.

Bibliography: BM 1879 p.536. BL 1977 pp.41-2.

<sup>1</sup>This hitherto unnoticed date was recently discovered by Mr J. Seyller.

### 87 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt'

Illustrated on p.103.

'The Wonders of Creation', an anonymous Persian translation from the Arabic of Zakariyā ibn Muhammad al-Qazvīnī (d.682/1283), a work recounting the inhabitants of heaven and earth, the constellations, mythical creatures, animals and plants.

This work was extremely popular both in Persia and India, and was often lavishly illustrated with hundreds of drawings. Normally these drawings follow the iconography of the manuscript being copied, and it took a bold innovator to vary the items selected for illustration or even to alter their style. The earliest illustrated Indian copies appear to date from the early 17th century, although a now vanished one was prepared in Bijapur in 1547.<sup>1</sup> No imperial Mughal copy is as yet known,<sup>2</sup> but many in Popular Mughal style. This particular copy abandons the colouring of the miniatures in favour of a bold style of drawing, and filling in with gold. The results are particularly happy in the animal sections, each one being drawn true to life. The artist was much less good at drawing the human figure, but on their

evidence a date of about 1620 may be assigned to the Ms.; he begins by giving Indian features and clothing to the people, but then repents his rashness and reverts to the standard format based ultimately on an Arab style of the 13th century.

British Library, London, Add.7706.

Provenance: ex-Claudius James Rich collection; acquired in 1825. Rich presumably acquired the Ms. in India before he was appointed Resident in Baghdad in 1808.

ff.286; 30 × 18cm; creamy paper; 21 lines of good *Nasta'liq* in panels 19.5 × 10.2cm with margins ruled in gold and blue; 279 miniatures, mostly drawings with gold infill (the opening ones of the constellations against a blue sky filled with flowers!); the first two folios later replacements decorated with *'unwān* and marginal illumination in the style of Oudh c.1800-20; the final folio is a later replacement dated 1051/1641, with a spurious conclusion according to Rieu - it is on 18th-century European paper; dark-blue leather cover with sunk gold medallions; red doublures.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.463. BL 1977, pp.78-81.

<sup>1</sup>BM 1879, p.995.

<sup>2</sup>The pages of Mughal animal and plant drawings noted in CB 1936, pp.26-7 as being from this text are now generally thought to be from the natural history section of the *Bāburnāma*.

### 88 'Razmnāma'

Illustrated on p.103.

The Book of Wars is the Persian translation of the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*, which was commissioned by Akbar in 1582 from Nakīb Khān. The literal translation produced by him, the historian Badā'unī and others with the help of learned Brahmans, was then turned into elegant prose by Abu'l Fazl's brother, the poet Faizī. The work was apparently finished by 1586 when Abu'l Fazl wrote his preface to the translation. The imperial presentation copy is now in the Jaipur royal collection<sup>1</sup>. Badā'unī also states that the order was given that further copies should be made for the Amīrs, in furtherance of Akbar's policy of increasing understanding between Muslims and Hindus. Of these other copies, the only illustrated ones are dispersed Mss. dated 1598 and 1616, and a now vanished one dated 1605<sup>2</sup>.

The bulk of this Ms. was dispersed in a sale in 1921, but it seems to have had originally at least 200 paintings. The colophon of Canto 17 bears the date 1007/1598, but no details of scribe or patron are anywhere given. Of the 24 paintings in the British Library's section of the Ms., 11 of the artists named are known to have been in the imperial atelier, and contributed



work to the *Dārābnāma* (No.59) and *Bāburnāma* (No.62). Their work here however is rarely of imperial calibre, and it must be assumed that they had left the court studio or were allowed to take on work from other patrons.

The 1598 *Razmnāma* exhibits three kinds of work. Principally, it is the standard Mughal painting of the period but simplified to a greater or lesser degree. Rarer is another kind of work, seemingly a throwback to the Cleveland Museum *Tūjīnāma*, in which pre-Mughal characteristics are included, and which constitutes a link between the pre-Mughal schools and the Popular Mughal tradition of the Manley (No.89) and Berlin *Rāgamālās*. Folio 17a in this manuscript by Bhagvān illustrates this linkage perfectly, while f.13b by Bhavāni shows the emergent Rajput characteristic of using architecture to fill background space without regard to structural principles. Also rare is a more progressive style in *nīm-qalam*, in which colours are sparingly applied in pale washes, highlighted in gold. The painting in which Rāma's servant overhears the quarrel in the *dhobī's* household (f.48a of Or.12076) painted by Dā'ūd<sup>3</sup>, the brother of the great artist Daulat, is one of the earliest specimens of this style, which proved extremely popular in the early decades of the next century. Artists who worked on this *Razmnāma* include Kamāl and Banvāri, who both worked for the Khānkhānān, in Kamāl's case both before and after this manuscript. It is probable therefore that it was commissioned by the Khānkhānān.

British Library, London, Or.12076.

ff.138; 30×19cm; beige paper; small *Naskhī* hand, 27 lines in panels 20×10.5cm with margins ruled in gold; some replacement folios, many marginal repairs; 24 paintings of varying sizes, attributed (for artists see BL 1977); another major portion is in the Baroda Museum; one small *sarlavḥ*; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1968, p.37. BL 1977, p.134 (repro. f.76a). BM 1976, p.55. Meredith Owens and Pinder-Wilson 1956. Sotheby 25 Oct. 1921, lots 203-79. AIP, No.654. Chaghatai 1943-4.

<sup>1</sup>Published in full in Hendley 1883-5.

<sup>2</sup>Published briefly in Chaghatai 1943-4.

<sup>3</sup>Reproduced by Meredith Owens and Pinder-Wilson, plate XIX.

## 89 'Rāgamālā'

COLOUR PLATE XXXV

The Garland of the Rāgas, an album of paintings meant to be pictorial representations of a *rāga* or *rāgiṇī*, the modes of Indian music, arranged into families, each *rāga* being personified as male with five wives or *rāgiṇīs*, and in the more elaborate systems with *rāgaputras* or sons also. First

of all apparently a literary conceit, each mode was described in a verse in Sanskrit, and later in Hindi. From at least the 15th century, the verses were made the subject of paintings. It does not appear to have been a theme which appealed to the taste of the Great Mughals, but it would certainly have done to the Rajput nobles of the Mughal court, for one of whom possibly this set in a Popular Mughal style would have been made.

The set is almost complete, having 34 of the paintings of a set of 36, with verses in Sanskrit inscribed at the top. The text followed is of unknown authorship, first appears about 1500-50, and is according to Ebeling the main source of the Rajasthani tradition of *Rāgamālā* verses.<sup>1</sup> The compositions are usually very simple with an extremely simplified Mughal landscape—green with sometimes a rocky horizon, sometimes only a merging into the sky, the lower part of which is pink, merging above into white and then slate blue. Architecture and dress conform to Popular Mughal type, while the female is a slight advance in elegance on those first seen in the 1598 *Razmnāma*, wearing the skirt, short bodice, *paṭkā* and transparent *oṛhnī* draped over her head, and round her skirt—the back of her head is still often slightly pointed, and she is still liberally adorned with pompoms. There are perfunctory attempts at modelling. The especial glories of this set however are the marvellously sympathetic depiction of birds and animals, and the beautifully stylized trees, which make no attempt at a Mughal naturalistic depiction but instead are in a fully formed Rajput idiom, a stylized pattern of brightly coloured leaves over a darker ground. Its date must be about 1610, and Agra is the only definitely known centre for this work, although an attempt has recently been made by Cran to pinpoint a Bundelkhandi origin for it.

Some time before 1774 it almost certainly entered the library of the Rohilla chieftain Hāfiz Rahmat, since it was acquired by one William Watson 'in the Rhoillah Campaign, in the year 1774' (see No.111). Watson had it bound up, in no particular order, and interleaved, so that he could write notes on the subjects of the paintings, entirely fanciful, as he himself admits. Apparently before 1774, it was the subject of two separate foliations in Arabic characters, neither of them corresponding to the clearly labelled *Nāgarī* enumeration nor indeed to its reversal, and during one of which the names of the *rāgas* were written, correctly, in *Nasta'liq*, probably in the library of Hāfiz Rahmat. These were cropped in binding. In 1815 it was given to Mary Watson by her father.

British Museum, London, 1973, 9-17.

Provenance: ex-W.B. Manley Collection, acquired in the 1930s; acquired in 1973.

ff.57; 26×17.2cm; brownish paper; text in two lines of *Nāgarī*, with *Nasta'liq* inscriptions; English descriptions and notes opposite each painting; 34 paintings, in frames ruled in black, green, white and blue, about 20.5×14.5cm; many repairs to the borders; European binding.

Bibliography: Ashton 1950, No.401, painting 17. Ebeling 1973, pp.161-2. Cran 1980.

<sup>1</sup>Ebeling 1973, pp.118-28.

## 90 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa'

COLOUR PLATES XXXIII, XXXIV

The Legends of Krishna (see No.36).

This incomplete manuscript (Cantos 8-9 and 11-12) of the *Purāṇa* was copied in Udaipur by the scribe Jasvant in 1705/1648, and is heavily illustrated in the Mewar style. The artist is named at the foot of two of the miniatures as Sāhib Dīn (f.5b of Canto 8, and f.24b of Canto 9), who flourished in Udaipur between 1628 and 1653, his greatest work occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of 1649-53 (Nos.92, 96). It is difficult to believe that all of the work in this *Purāṇa* is from his hand, as much of it is on an extremely simple level, with the exception of certain key passages such as the *Gajendramohana* episode (the Elephant's deliverance) which begins the eighth canto. The tenth canto, the most important in the *Purāṇa*, is missing, and it is possible that a few scattered and damaged pages in other collections, of a much more ambitious type, were originally Sāhib Dīn's work in this manuscript. Some ten paintings at the end of Canto 11 are in the style of Manohar, whom we meet in the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of 1649 (No.91).

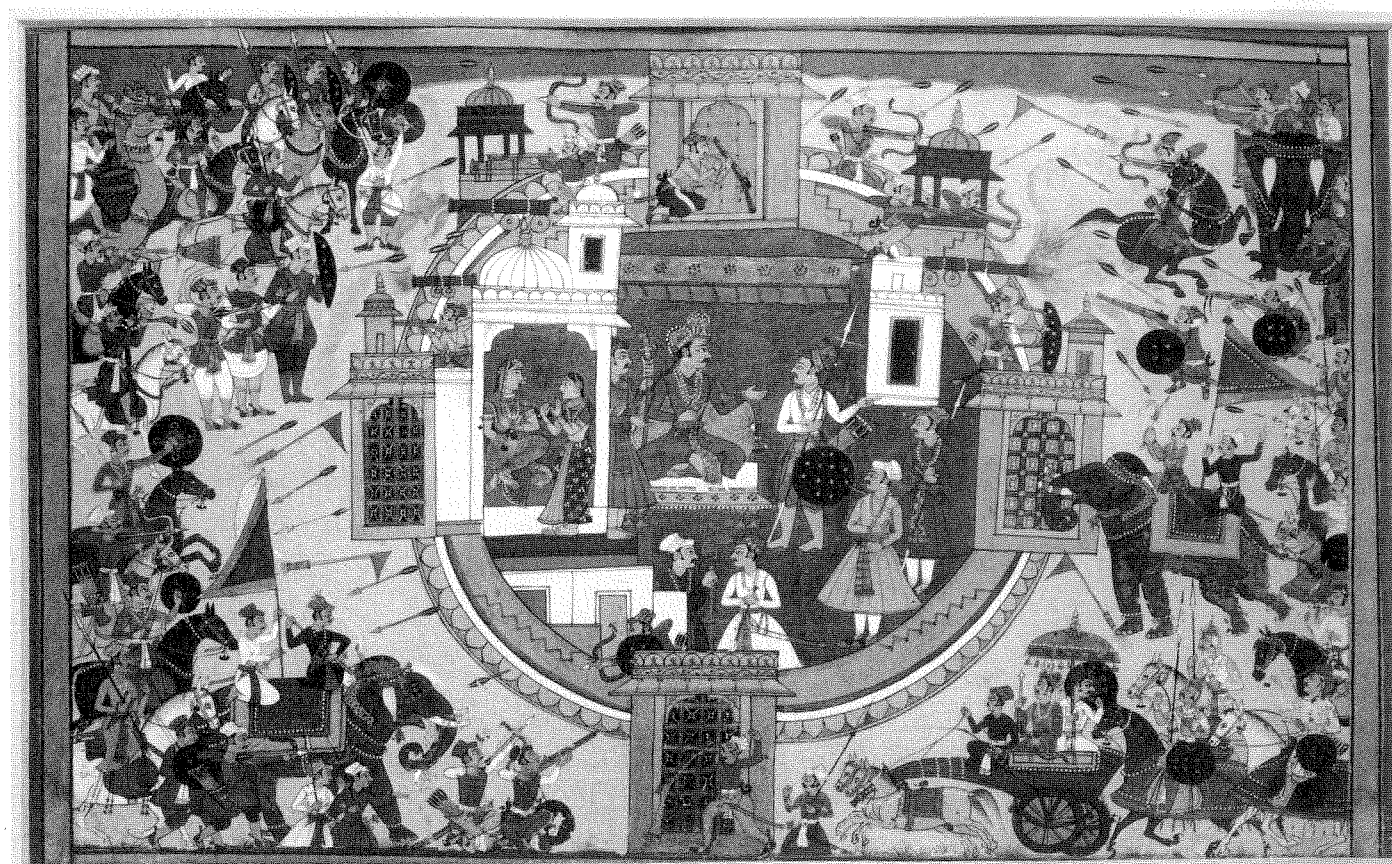
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No.61/1907-15.

ff.84; 65, 131, 43; 21.5×39cm; country paper; *tripāṭhī* format, various lines of *Nāgarī* across centre with commentary (of Shṛīdhara) above and below; between red margins; 129 paintings, 88 full-page, ten half- and 31 quarter-page, within red and yellow borders; unbound, without covers.

Bibliography: Gode 1938. Khandalawala 1951, repro. f.5b of Canto 8.

## 91-97 'Rāmāyaṇa' of Jagat Singh of Mewar

The story of Rāma, the Sanskrit epic attributed to the sage Vālmīki, in 20,000 verses. The story of Rāma's banishment with his wife Sītā and brother Lakshmana due to the wiles of a wicked stepmother, their life together in the forest, Sītā's abduction by Rāvana the demon king of Lankā, the befriending of Rāma by the monkeys and bears of the forest and their



91 Mithila is besieged by Sītā's disappointed suitors. By Manohar.

assault on Rāvana's stronghold, the rescue of Sītā and their triumphant return home, all of this is an extremely ancient story which must have assumed a bardic shape by 500 BC. The epic grew to its present size over the next millennium, during which the hero Rāma was identified with the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Nonetheless the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most moving and universally loved of all Indian stories, telling as it does a story of human grief and human emotion, despite its divine garb.

Rāma, who lived on earth as a human being, had of course an ancestry and descendants, and the Hindu genealogists traced his ancestry back to the Sun. The Solar Rajputs, whose principal representatives were the Sesodiyas of Mewar (Udaipur), therefore included Rāma as the chief of their ancestors, and treated the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a family history rather like the history of Timūr to the Mughals.

By the middle of the 17th century, the studio at Udaipur was sufficiently large to embark on the production of a heavily illustrated *poṭhī* manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the largest scale, with about 400 paintings, which fill the entire page. Mahātmā Hīrānanda wrote the various books between 1649 and 1653, the last two books being completed after the death of Jagat Singh in October 1652 and accession of Rāj Singh. They were all copied in Udaipur, and the colophons mention the

reigning monarch, but only one of them, the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, specifically mentions that it was prepared for Jagat Singh. However, in view of the total dependence of Rajput painting on patronage, it is inconceivable that all the books were not prepared for the royal library.

Karan Singh and Jagat Singh were familiar with the habits of the Mughals; they knew of their vast library, stocked with illustrated versions of the histories of their ancestors, Timūr, Bābur and Akbar, and perhaps they knew of the *Ḥamzanāma*, the first great Mughal undertaking, with its 1,400 paintings. We know that the architecture of Udaipur, the palace buildings and, especially, the Jagadīsha temple built by Jagat Singh, deliberately recall the great period of Mewar architecture at Chitor. It is not surprising then that the *Rāmāyaṇa* should have been the text selected for this grandiose treatment for it concerns the great hero of the Solar race, Rāma the ancestor of the Rānā of Udaipur, the present head of the *Sūryavaṃśa*, and it may be seen as a Hindu reaction to, and imitation of, the ancestor-glorifying traditions of the Mughals.

Despite the immense pains that went into the making of this manuscript, the art of calligraphy was not considered important enough for the scribe to throw away a sheet with a mistake and start it again; instead there are innumerable passages

simply scrubbed out with yellow paint. The scribe Mahātmā Hīrānanda belonged to the Jaina scribal tradition, and he follows the normal western *Nāgarī* traditions—beginning the text with the Jaina diagram, leaving a central diamond pattern without letters in the middle of the page usually, but not invariably, on all folios without illustrations, sometimes leaving five such patterns at beginning or end of a book (he abandons the practice by the time he reaches the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*), the partial inclusion of red medallions in the centre and margins of the versos of opening folios (up to f.9b in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*), and so on.

It is apparent from the wide variation in the number of lines per page throughout each book, that the paintings must have been produced before the text was written. Some episodes have a painting per folio for ten or more folios together, and then there may occur an uninterrupted sequence of text. In the former instance there may only be nine lines per side, rising to 22 in the latter. The subjects of the text and paintings coincide generally throughout the manuscript.

If all the paintings were produced first, then the dates in the colophons must be taken very generally as the concluding date of the writing of the text, and we may freely speculate on the number of years needed for the entire work. There are



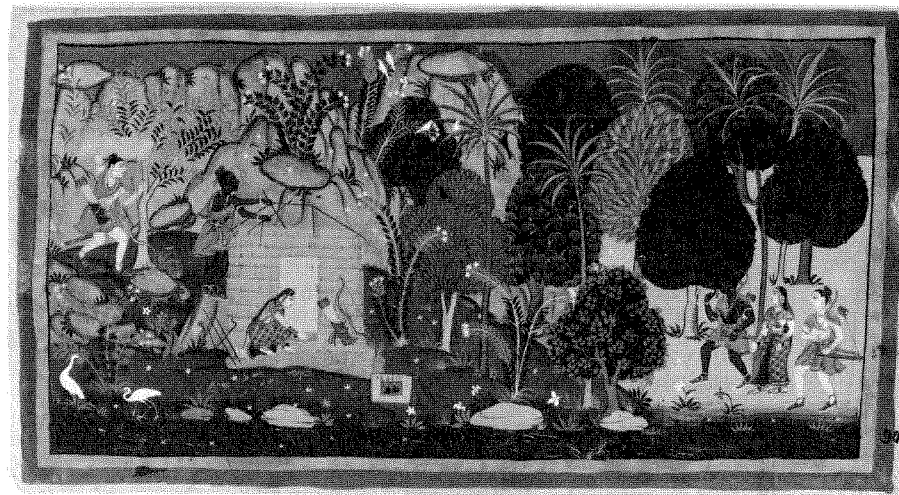
about 150 large paintings in Sāhib Dīn's style. We know that a Mughal painting in the Akbar period could take six months for an artist working alone. Even though the Udaipur paintings are less complex technically, it would be unsafe to allow less than two or three months for one painting. This must presuppose the existence of a quite large studio, if the Ms. was to be completed in a reasonable time. How long depends on the as yet totally unknown number of junior artists working in the studio. If there were five or six master artists drawing the compositions and the major figures, there were probably twice this number assisting with the solid areas of paint and so on. Even so, with two or three junior artists assisting him, Sāhib Dīn would have taken at least ten years. There is considerable stylistic advancement from the 1628 *Rāgamālā* to the first paintings of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, so that it would be reasonable to assume the project began in the late 1630s. Further advance has been made in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. Similar calculations apply for the other artists involved.

#### 91 'Bālakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The first book (Book of Childhood) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, like the last, is one of the latest parts of the epic, and concerns the circumstances leading to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, and the marriage of Rāma to Sītā.

The *Bālakāṇḍa* of the Jagat Singh *Rāmāyaṇa* was completed in Udaipur in 1706/1649 by Mahātmā Hīrānanda, and painted by Manohar. There were originally 79 folios in all, most of them with paintings on one side and text on the other, of which 20 are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, two in the Baroda Museum<sup>1</sup>, and about 55 in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection in Bombay<sup>2</sup>. The book was commissioned by Ācārya Jasvant, who must be the court librarian, or the administrator of the studio. He is probably the same person as the scribe of the 1648 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.90).

Manohar is an artist all of whose work occurs in the middle years of the 17th century. The *Bālakāṇḍa* is his only signed piece of work, but two other books in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Āranyakāṇḍa*, and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, Nos.93, 97) are in his general style, and he also produced other smaller sets about this time<sup>3</sup>. His only known work datable before this *Rāmāyaṇa* is a small group of ten paintings at the end of the 11th book of the *Bhāgavata* (No.90)<sup>4</sup> completed the previous year. His work, which is in a different manner from the normal Mewar style of the first half of the 17th century, has no discernible influence on later work, and represents an at present inexplicable phenomenon in Mewar painting. His conventions for the human figure, for archi-



92 f.70. Rāma and the exiles begin their life in the forest.

tecture, horses and chariots, landscape and vegetation, are all different from those of Sāhib Dīn's school, while his palette is much harsher, employing garish reds and oranges on occasion as well as a high degree of burnishing. Manohar is a good artist, but is lacking in many of the skills which distinguish Sāhib Dīn's work. He has little sense of dramatic composition, and is often content to divide up the various episodes of a story within fairly obvious framing devices. When he does juxtapose the same characters side by side, as with the meeting with Parashurāma or Rāmas's breaking of Siva's bow, the effect is faintly although unintentionally comic. Only in the very occasional painting such as the siege of Mithilā do all his considerable gifts come together in a satisfying and unitary way.

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, 54.1/1-20.

ff.20 (out of 79); 23 × 39.5cm; paper; about 15 lines of *Nāgarī* between margins ruled in red, text area about 15 × 33cm; each folio painted on recto, with borders of red and yellow with text on reverse; unbound.

Bibliography: Moti Chandra 1955-57. Moti Chandra 1957, plate 2 (folio 33a in colour). Moti Chandra 1971, plate vi (folio 76a in colour).

<sup>1</sup>Numbered P G 5a. 64a-b. See Gangoly 1961, pp.83-4 (with illustrations).

<sup>2</sup>Khandalavala and Chandra 1965, No.76 (just one painting illustrated). The precise number of folios in the Jehangir collection has never been stated.

<sup>3</sup>See Moti Chandra 1971.

<sup>4</sup>I am indebted to Shridhar Andhare for pointing this out to me.

#### 92 'Ayodhyākāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The second book of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, dealing with the life of Rāma and Sītā in Ayodhyā, their exile brought about by Rāma's stepmother, and the beginning of their life in the forest.

This book was completed in Udaipur in 1707/1650, the scribe being Hīrānanda and the commissioner Jasvant. It was prepared specifically for Mahārāna Jagat Singh's inspection, the only one of these volumes to say so. There are 68 paintings illustrating this volume, although this time no artist is named. There can be no doubt, however, that they are in the hand of Sāhib Dīn, whose attributed work is known from the *Rāgamālā* of 1628<sup>1</sup>, the *Gītāgovinda* of 1629<sup>2</sup>, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of 1648 (No.90), the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of 1653 (No.96), and the *Sukarākṣetramāhātmya* of 1655<sup>3</sup>. Unascribed but in his style is the *Kavipriyā* in the Udaipur Palace Museum. Apart from the first two, this work all dates from the middle years of the 17th century, and from its sheer bulk argues the existence of a flourishing studio system in Udaipur. Even where Sāhib Dīn's name is specifically mentioned in the colophon, as in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, it is inconceivable that he alone could have produced such a large body of work unaided in less than a decade; while in reality he was engaged on other projects as well.

The *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* then is the work of the Sāhib Dīn studio; with the master perhaps sketching the compositions but leaving most of the colouring to other artists. The paintings are of a very high standard, although not the summit of this artist's achievement, which occurs in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. However, certain sequences, such as the paintings leading up to the departure of Rāma into exile, have an overwhelming impact when viewed together that argue the hand of the master himself. Sāhib Dīn's style is normally one in which fairly small groups of people are juxtaposed and balanced against one another or against landscape or architecture. Only occasionally does he indulge in a grand design. There is a slow build-up of tension through the association of groups in each picture and then through the

viewing of the paintings in sequence. Some of the artist's greatest effects are achieved in this way, as in the sequence beginning with Kaikeyī's dream through the announcing of Rāma's exile, the scenes of lamentation, the disposal of his property, the scenes of farewell to his mother and Dasharatha, all pictures built up detail by detail, small groups of people juxtaposed against one another. However, the sequence culminates in a farewell scene organized on a grand scale, without repetition of characters, in which Rāma is accompanied into exile by the people of Ayodhyā with Dasharatha supported by his wives making a tragic gesture of farewell.

It is his ability to handle crowds that distinguishes Sāhib Dīn from other Rajput painters of the 17th century, and indicates that he must at some stage have worked in the Popular Mughal tradition. The crowds he draws are precisely that, and not the serried rows favoured by Manohar. All of Sāhib Dīn's work in this late period indicates long experience in painting from the high viewpoint, in contrast to his 1628 *Rāgamālā*. It may possibly be that some time between 1628 and his next dated work in 1648, he was in Agra gaining experience of the Mughal tradition of painting—this might account for the absence of datable material throughout the 1630s.

British Library, London, Add.15296(1).

Provenance: Royal Library in Udaipur till about 1820; given by Mahārāna Bhīm Singh of Udaipur (1778-1828) to Colonel James Tod and by him presented to the Duke of Sussex, son of George III. Acquired at the sale of the Sussex collection in 1844.

ff.129; 21 × 38.5cm; thin brown paper; 9-22 lines of *Nāgarī* with colophons, *daṇḍas*, etc., in red between margins with three red vertical lines and two horizontal ones above and below; text area 14 × 26-18 × 32cm; 68 paintings (17-18 × 35cm) within red and yellow borders, which usually extend to the edge of the page, but sometimes not; no covers originally, but now the folios are all framed in stout European paper and bound up (together with the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*) in a handsome European binding prepared for the Duke of Sussex, the covers measuring 32 × 49cm.

Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.30-32. Losty 1978. Losty 1982, plate 13 (f.56a reproduced in colour). Barrett and Gray 1963, p.139, col. repro. of f.71a. Thompson 1980, pp.18-29 (col. repro. of folios 14a, 24a, 34a, 56a, 66a, 112a).

<sup>1</sup>Khandalavala etc. 1960, No.29.

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Topsfield is to publish this set in Chhavi vol.II.

<sup>3</sup>Referred to often in the literature, but now missing from the libraries of Udaipur.

#### 93 'Āranyakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The Book of the Forest, the third book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which describes the life of the exiles in the forest and the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana, the demon-king of Lankā.

This volume was again commissioned by Jasvant, written by Hīrānanda and completed in 1708/1651 while Mahārāna Jagat Singh was reigning victoriously in Chittor in Mewar. This emotive usage of the old capital is not meant to imply either that Jagat Singh was living in Chittor, or that the manuscript was copied there. A similar usage in the colophon of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (No.94) goes on to say that the work was in fact copied in Udaipur.

There are 36 paintings in the *Āranyakāṇḍa* in a style that is the same as that of Manohar, but possibly not actually by him. The paintings are at a consistently good level for this style, remarkably even in quality. They lack any of the ambitious compositions of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, the set pieces with the repetition of the chief characters; instead the artist is content to use standard divisions of architecture or landscape features to divide up the separate scenes of the composition, a river bank or a line of stones to divide his upper register from the lower one. These simple devices are remarkably successful. The palette is slightly more restricted than Manohar's and is far from the virulent palette noted by Barrett<sup>1</sup> as in the same hand as the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (No.97).

Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur.

Provenance: Royal Library, Udaipur.

ff.72; 23 × 39.5cm; paper, 9-15 lines of

*Nāgarī* between margins ruled in red; 36 paintings, within red and yellow borders; unbound.

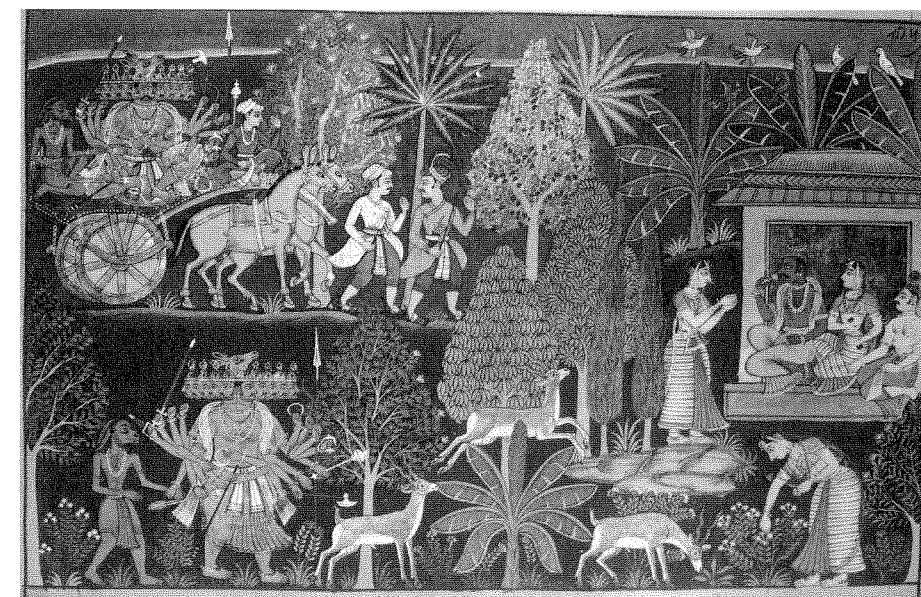
Bibliography: Brunel 1981, plates 12 and 13.

<sup>1</sup>Barrett and Gray 1963, p.138.

#### 94 'Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The Book of Kiṣkindhā, the forest in which Rāma, searching for the abducted Sītā, encounters the monkeys and bears of the forest, intervenes in the quarrels of the monkey king and his brother, and persuades them to help in his search for Sītā.

This volume was completed in Udaipur by the same scribe Hīrānanda in 1710/1653, after the death of Jagat Singh which occurred towards the end of 1652. The new ruler, Rāj Singh, is mentioned in the colophon as ruling over Chittor in Mewar, and now a new commissioner is named, Vyāsa Jayadevajī. The new ruler seems to have put in a new head of the library. This is the latest of the six books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with colophons, being finished some nine months after Jagat Singh's death. However, it is not likely the volume was an afterthought commissioned by Rāj Singh; it is intimately connected with the other volumes and must have been planned by Jagat Singh along with the others. There are however occasional pieces of evidence that the volume has not been properly finished—the absence of the passages usually written in red (the chapter colophons and the *daṇḍa* or punctuation marks), and of the double-lines above and below the text, while the paintings are not all in a uniform style.



93 Rāvana sends the golden deer to lure Rāma and Lakshmana away from Sītā.



The 34 paintings are for the most part in a totally different style from the work associated with the names of Sāhib Dīn and Manohar and their schools. The artist employs a much broader brush with much less fine detail; figures are much larger; the composition usually depicts a single dramatic moment rather than a sequence of several events; the palette is different, purples, yellows and browns being very prominent, while the artist is particularly fond of a very dark ground against which to set his figures, as opposed to the red favoured by Sāhib Dīn; the high horizon is often made of craggy peaks, and above it the blue sky is streaked with white clouds; and he often uses modelling. He starts his composition from the point of view of representing a dramatic happening, so that the key event is usually in the centre of a page. The total effect of this style is splendidly barbaric, as perhaps befits the subject-matter of the book. Rāma and Lakshmana are virtually the only humans to appear, the other characters being monkeys and other animals. It is difficult therefore to make valid stylistic judgements on the basis of physical appearance, while the deliberately barbaric architecture is not susceptible of comparison. Nonetheless, it is clear that the unnamed artist had a training in a Deccani style, as may be judged from his favourite colour schemes, details of trees and so on.<sup>1</sup> However considerable unevenness argues an atelier of artists rather than a single individual doing all the work.

A mixed Mewar-Deccan school first surfaces in a Ms. dated 1650 written in Aurangabad in the northern Deccan, one of the headquarters for the Mughal attack on the Deccani kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda.<sup>2</sup> The Ms. was copied for a prince of one of the fiefdoms (*thikanās*) owing allegiance to Udaipur. The Rajput chiefs were constantly in the Deccan engaged in the Mughal wars, and had plenty of opportunities to send home to Rajasthan Deccani artists and paintings. Indeed it is only by positing such an event for some Mewar nobles can the paintings of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* be accounted for. There are numerous resemblances to the 'Aurangabad' manuscript in details of architecture, landscape, plants, carpets, and so on. Of the 34 paintings, 30 are in this style; but of the remainder three are in a contemporary style akin to Manohar's, and one appears to be a later addition in a weak 18th-century Mewar style. Some text pages also appear on a different paper and in a different larger hand. The evidence suggests that the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* was not in fact finished in 1653.

British Library, London, Add.15296(2).  
Provenance: As No.92.



94 f.86. Hanumān passes through the demonic Surathā who obstructs his flight across the ocean.

ff.88; 23 × 39cm; thin brown paper, with some whiter folios, apparently later; 11–21 lines of *Nāgarī* with headings etc. in red, but some omitted entirely, between margins in three red lines; sometimes double red lines top and bottom; text area 13 × 28–19 × 33cm; 34 paintings, 22 × 38cm, within plain red or yellow borders with a thin white line; the three in the Manohar style have the usual red and yellow borders; bound in the same covers as *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (No.92).

Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.30–32. Losty 1978, fig.2. Losty 1982 (f.14a in colour).

<sup>1</sup>See Welch 1973, No.75, from the pre-1600 Deccan *Rāgamālā*, set, for a very precise parallel in the rendering of trees.

<sup>2</sup>Doshi 1972. She identifies various other paintings which would appear to belong to this school, including those previously assigned to a 'Nagaur' school by S.C. Welch.

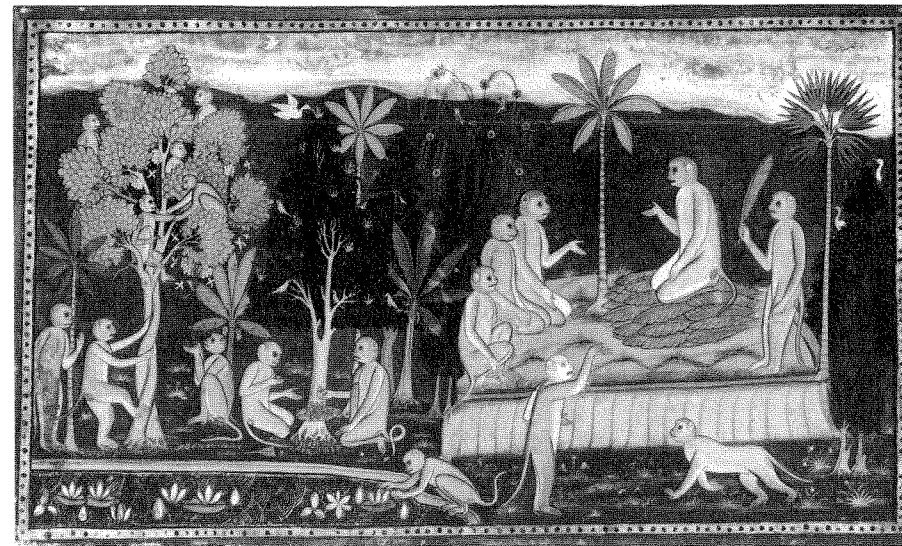
#### 95 'Sundarakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The Beautiful Book, the fifth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which, with the aid of Hanuman and the monkeys, Rāma discovers that Sītā has been abducted by Rāvana, and her rescue is planned.

It is not clear whether the fifth book of the Jagat Singh *Rāmāyaṇa* was ever actually completed, or indeed begun, as no surviving Ms. has a relevant colophon. However, this volume of 18 pictures from a Ms. of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* may possibly represent some at least of Jagat Singh's *Sundarakāṇḍa*. Of the six books with colophons, that of the *Kiṣkindhā* is the latest, and it bears considerable evidence of not having been properly finished. The *Sundarakāṇḍa* might have been begun even later, but was allowed to lapse incomplete.

The 18 paintings of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*

album are in a style that is basically a continuation of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* style, but since, in contrast to the latter book, there is a considerable amount of human representation, it is easier to see the album as an example of the mixed Mewar-Deccan style first seen in the 'Aurangabad' manuscript of 1650<sup>1</sup>. There are direct resemblances between the human figures in both in the characteristic shape of the head, while the long *jāma* of the Deccan (as opposed to the Mughal three-quarter length one) seen in the Aurangabad Ms. also occurs on the person of Vibhishana in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. There is also self-evident resemblance between the folios in which Rāma and Lakshmana are present, with their very individual garb and hair styles, and their appearance in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*,<sup>2</sup> while the very individualistic trees are common to both. Again there is considerable unevenness of quality between the paintings, arguing a number of hands. There seems little difficulty therefore in accepting this album as of the Mewar school, and of roughly comparable date to the Jagat Singh volumes, although probably slightly later than the main body of work, i.e. it is assignable to the early Rāj Singh period, 1652–65. The layout of the text is mostly very similar to the other volumes of the Jagat Singh set, with some variations which are also found in the other volumes, of size and margination, particularly in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. However, the text shows many signs of never having been finished; like the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* it is lacking in the red punctuation marks. The final folio, numbered originally 141, does in fact conclude the text of the *Kāṇḍa* in the northern recension of the epic which the Ms. follows. Only the first letter of the word *iti* (thus), the beginning of the colophon statement, has been written,



95 f.12b. The monkeys get drunk on the honey in Sugrīva's grove despite its guardian's remonstrations.

despite there being room for some more lines.

The text of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* is somewhat longer than that of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, which in No.94 occupies 89 folios with 34 paintings. If this Ms. of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* had been finished (and there seems every reason to believe that the text portion at least was completely written, even if not properly finished off), then covering as it does 141 folios, there would have been very many more paintings, probably as many as a 100 in all, the rest of which have so far escaped discovery.

India Office Library, London, Skt. MS.3621.

ff.18 (out of 141); 24 × 39cm (ff.1 and 2, 24 × 37.5 and 24 × 36cm); paper; 14–18 lines of *Nāgarī* between margins ruled in three red lines, with some folios having double red lines at top and bottom of text, and with red lines at extreme edge of pages; 18 paintings on rectos, with text on versos; modern binding.

Bibliography: IOL 1935, No.6561. IOL 1981, No.509 [all 18 folios illustrated, ff.3 and 9 in colour]. Losty 1978, p.8. Thompson 1980, pp.43 and 47 (col. repro. of ff.13 and 3).

<sup>1</sup>Doshi 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Compares figs.2 and 3 in Losty 1978.

#### 96 'Yuddhakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

COLOUR PLATE XXXVII

The Book of the Battle, the sixth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma and his allies, the monkeys and bears, launch the attack on Lankā, Rāvana's citadel. After an immense battle, Rāma slays Rāvana in single combat, and returns with Sītā in triumph to Ayodhyā.

This book was finished in 1709/1652,

two months before Jagat Singh's death,<sup>1</sup> again copied by Hīrananda in Udaipur. No commissioner is named in the Ms.; however the colophon ends with the statement that Sāhibadī (i.e. Sāhib ad-Dīn) painted the pictures, of which there are 88. In contrast to the attributions to Sāhib Dīn in the 1648 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.90), which are in the form of notes underneath two pictures, the inference being that he was responsible for those alone, other artists painting the other paintings, here in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is the statement that he was responsible for them all, and it is by these works of his full maturity that Sāhib Dīn must be judged as an artist. His complex compositional technique in building up his structure through the use of small groups is here tested to the full in scenes such as the attack on Lankā, which is a triumph of a sort never before seen in Rajput painting. The schematic view of the city, which the Rajput, indeed native Indian, viewpoint insisted on showing in full from above, is surrounded by a struggling mass of demons, monkeys, elephants and horses, rendered in a manner reminiscent of an Akbar-period historical painting.<sup>2</sup> And this level of achievement is maintained throughout the volume. Not all are as complex of course, but there is a continuous tension from picture to picture, that is something very new in Indian book-illustrations.

British Library, London, Add.15297(1).

Provenance: as No.92.

ff.206; 23 × 39cm; smooth brown paper; 9–19 lines of *Nāgarī* with colophons, *daṇḍas* etc. in red between margins ruled in three red lines, with two red lines at top and bottom; text area 15.5 × 29–18 × 32cm; 88 paintings within red and yellow borders, unbound originally,

but now in European binding like No.92.

Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.30–32. Losty 1978. Losty 1982 (col. repro. of f.27a). Thompson 1980, pp.50–63 (col. repro. of ff.27a, 34a, 100a, 162a, 166a, 194a, and 203a).

<sup>1</sup>The widely quoted date of death of Jagat Singh, 10 April 1652, which occurs in Tod and later publications, seems mistaken on the evidence of this colophon, which is dated Saturday, *badi* 6 *Bhādrapada*, 1709, which falls in August, 1652, when Jagat Singh was still reigning according to the colophon. He actually died in October, 1652.

<sup>2</sup>See Thompson p.51 for colour reproduction.

#### 97 'Uttarakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The Last Book of the epic, much of it being a later addition recounting the origin of Rāvana and explaining much that was unclear in the earlier books, and Rāma's enforced repudiation of Sītā, the birth of their sons, and eventual reconciliation.

This book was completed in 1710/1653, in Udaipur, in Rāj Singh's reign, by Hīrananda, the Ms. being commissioned, like the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, by Vyāsa Jayadeva. It is the most heavily illustrated of the six completed books, with 92 paintings, in a virulent palette which has called down Douglas Barrett's wrath<sup>1</sup>. In the last few paintings the quality of the draughtsmanship deteriorates rapidly. One suspects that the artist thought that with a new, perhaps uninterested, ruler, if he did not finish it quickly, he would not be able to do so at all. However, the majority of the paintings are in a competent and decorative hand, in the tradition of Manohar, but again almost certainly not by him. The palette indeed rules this out, with its heavy use of bright pinks and purples. The *Rāgamālā* from Mewar c.1650 in the National Museum, New Delhi, is probably by this artist<sup>2</sup>.

British Library, London, Add.15297(2).

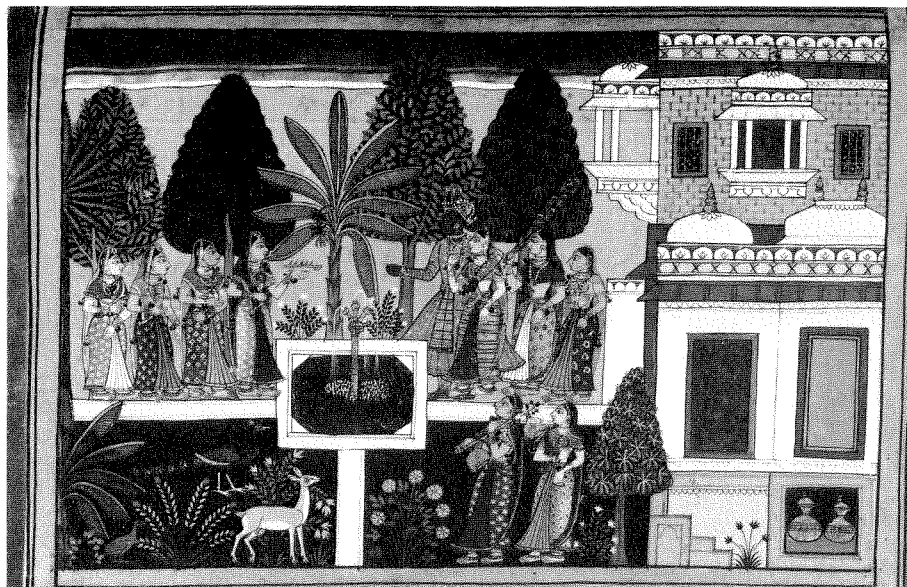
Provenance: as No.92.

ff.114 (numbered 1–112, with two folios unnumbered having just paintings on one side and no text); 23 × 39cm; light-brown paper; several pages of text have blank rectos; 7–24 lines of *Nāgarī*, occasional diamond patterns in centre; headings, colophons etc. in red; between margins ruled in three red lines, lacking all upper and lower lines; text area 11.5 × 28–19 × 32.5cm; 92 paintings, within yellow and red borders, generally with blank paper surrounds, size of paintings 21 × 31–21.5 × 35cm; unbound originally, now in European binding.

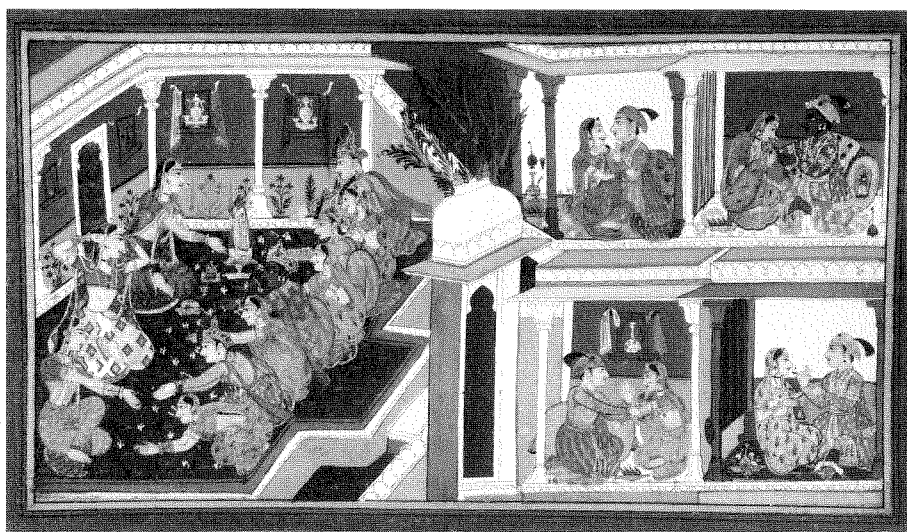
Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.30–32.

<sup>1</sup>Barrett and Gray 1963, p.138.

<sup>2</sup>Pramod Chandra 1957.



97 f.70. Rāma and Sītā enjoy their last untroubled moments together.



98 f.210. The wedding night of Rāma and Sītā and his brothers and her cousins.

#### 98 'Bālakāṇḍa' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa'

The first book of the Sanskrit epic (see No.91).

This huge copy of the *Bālakāṇḍa* copied in Udaipur in 1769/1772 is one of the better products of the early Sangrām Singh II (1710–38) period. In style it is consciously archaic as it makes no attempt to use the landscape techniques seen in contemporary Udaipur court painting, but conforms to Sāhib Dīn's landscape style. However there have been some developments since the mid-17th century. The size of the figures relative to that of the page has been increased, a trend first brought to Mewar painting by the artist of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (No.94), whose love of dark backgrounds has also filtered through into this new style. A new feature is the use of a great deal of white, in architecture, grounds and other quite large areas, an innovation in the Amar

Singh paintings, and altogether a much lighter, colder palette than in the Jagat Singh period.<sup>1</sup> Most noticeable however is a sharpness of line and a heaviness of modelling which, together with the coldness of the palette, impart a hardness to the paintings.

British Library, London, Add.15295.

Provenance: as No.92.

ff.212; 21.5×38cm; paper; mostly 2–6, occasionally 15 or 16, lines of *Nāgarī* within margins ruled in red; 201 paintings, in red and yellow frames; unbound originally, now inlaid in frames and between handsome European covers.

Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.31–2. Thompson 1980, pp.6–17 (col. repro. of folios 57a, 58a, 72a, 80a, 183a, 199a).

<sup>1</sup>Topsfield 1980, p.10, for a discussion of this period of Mewar paintings.

#### 99 'Madhumālātīvārtā'

The story of Madhumālātī, by the Rajasthani poet Caturbhuj Dās, in a miscellany with four other Rajasthani poems.

The works were copied between 1829–32/1772–5, by Bhat Harirāma at Madhakargarh, for Luhār Dhanajī. These names are not known from other sources. There are 88 illustrations, the majority (53) illustrating the *Madhumālātīvārtā*, with the rest divided between the next three items; there are besides some 32 outline drawings, 11 of them apparently doodlings between two of the texts, involving elephants, horses and camels. The paintings are in the style of south-eastern Rajasthan, of Mewar, but Madhakargarh has so far eluded precise identification.

The paintings are by three different artists, the first of whom has contributed the first 63 in the first two texts in a simplified Mewar idiom, in a bright palette of pinks and reds. The second artist who contributed the 23 paintings in the third text, has a much darker palette favouring browns and yellows. The third artist has contributed just two paintings at the beginning of the fourth poem, but in the style more of Bundi than of Mewar. These two paintings are in fact on separate pieces of paper which have been stuck into the manuscript. The remainder of the fourth poem contains 21 sketch-drawings likewise on separate paper and stuck in.

The Ms. is sewn in a single section, with 235 very wide sheets of paper, which have been folded in two and sewn. Stiff card protects the central pages from the friction of the cord, while 16 sheets at the bottom of the pile have been left blank to protect the text pages from the binding. The latter is a piece of leather, with two extra pieces sewn on at the back to make up the width. To protect the text, the cover protrudes slightly at top and bottom, and is bent round in a flap to cover the bulge in the front caused by all the sheets being the same size.

British Library, London, Or.13682.

ff.470 in all with numerous blanks, ff.411 with text or painting; each folio (*i.e.* half-sheet) 12×13cm; paper; 11–12 lines of *Nāgarī*, between margins ruled with two red lines, text area 9×8.5cm; outer edge of each page marked with a red line; headings, colophons, *daṇḍas* etc. in red; 88 paintings of varying sizes, many full page, others within the margins and of varying height; 32 sketches in red; leather cover, with flap, 41cm wide in all, and 14cm high.

Bibliography: Unpublished.



99 ff.219b, 220. A prince and his horse at the centre of a Ms. sewn in a single section.

#### 100 'Rāgamālā'

Illustrated on p.107.

A set of paintings with descriptive Hindi verses illustrative of the musical modes of Indian music. The text used is an anonymous Hindi set of 36 quatrains in *caupai* form, which according to Ebeling first appears about 1700 in Malwa and Bundelkhand.<sup>1</sup>

There are numerous sets of this type known, all closely related to one another, suggesting a flourishing studio.<sup>2</sup> The main features of the style are small, elegant figures, somewhat elongated, dwarfed by a three-storeyed architectural backdrop behind, all in white. There are only two known colophons, however, the one without provenance dated 1824/1767, the other dated 1822/1765 from Ranthambhor, the latter with the same kind of architecture but with human figures drawn in a more folksy way. The set is obviously a provincial version of the style of a metropolitan centre. The great fortress of Ranthambhor, the guardian of Rajasthan, was at this period on the south-east frontier of the Amber/Jaipur state, having been wrested from the Mughals in the late 17th century, and it has been suggested that these *Rāgamālā* sets are actually from Jaipur c.1750<sup>3</sup>. However, no similar Jaipuri work of the period is known.

British Library, London, Or.2821.

ff.34 (out of 36); 30×21cm; card with red borders; text and painting in frame of silver, red and white, 25×18cm, with text of 5–6 lines *Nāgarī* in black on yellow in panel above, about 4×18cm, with paintings (about 21×18cm) protruding into it; on modern guards, in a 19th-century

binding of red leather with stamped medallions etc. in gold.

Bibliography: BM 1899, Hindi, p.62. Gangoly 1935 (reproductions of 27 paintings). Ebeling 1973, pp.190–1. Prakash 1960 (col. repro. of a very similar set).

<sup>1</sup>Ebeling 1973, pp.142–6.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.94–100, and 190–1.

<sup>3</sup>Andhare 1972.

#### 101 'Hitopadeśa'

COLOUR PLATE XXXVI

The Book of Good Counsel, an ancient book of Indian fables, in an anonymous Rajasthani version. The *Hitopadeśa* is a set of fables in four books, told by a sage to a king's sons to teach them wisdom and polity, and is a recast, arranged towards the end of the first millennium AD, by one Nārāyaṇa, of the much earlier *Pañcatantra*, the Five Books. It is this latter work which was translated into Pahlavi, Syriac, Arabic and the languages of Europe, under the title of Kalila and Dimnah, the names of the two jackals who narrate the frame story of Book I (Karataka and Damantaka in the Sanskrit original). The Arabic version of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa' of c.AD 750 formed the basis of Nasr Allāh's Persian version of c.1145. This was extensively rewritten in a more elaborate style by Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī under the title of *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (the Lights of Canopus) and this version returned to India in the 16th century where it proved very popular. Numerous Indian illustrated manuscripts of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* survive from 1570 onwards (see Nos.49, 57, 75, 84). The original Sanskrit versions, *Pañcatantra* and its offshoot *Hitopadeśa*, are much less frequently found in illustrated versions.

This Rajasthani version was copied in *Nāgarī* script by the Brahman Cīramjī Rājārāma from Banhatā (near Tonk) in 1818/1761–2 at the behest of Kanvar Jasvant Singh, son of Rao Rāja Sardar Singh of Uniara (r.1740–77). Jasvant Singh in 1762 was still a boy; he is depicted as such with his father Sardar Singh in two formal court portraits at the end of the volume, where he appears to be about 12 to 14 years old. He is also depicted with his father in an earlier manuscript dated 1759 of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the Uniara State Collection where he appears to be about 10, but in this case the manuscript was commissioned by his father<sup>1</sup>. It is doubtless a charming gesture on his father's part that the young prince should have been allowed the use of the royal studio for the production of this book of animal fables, which is couched in the form of moral and political instruction for young princes.

There are 132 illustrations, mostly disposed in horizontal bands across the middle of the page; the artist is named in the colophon as Dhano from Bundi. The miniatures are in a charming style typical of Uniara painting, which at this stage is an offshoot of the Bundi style. Dhano's work reveals him not as a great master but as a competent journeyman, occasionally inspired, particularly in the illustrations to the animal stories. His illustration to the beginning of the frame story of Book II, for example, shows his adroit welding together of animal principals with a charming landscape, here populated by monkeys (f.28b).

The format is of sheets of country paper, only slightly burnished, folded and sewn with a thick cord in a single section. Limp covers were also sewn on at the same time, a flexible layer of papers pasted together, here covered with dark-brown leather with blind tooling in a rough pattern. Leather is but rarely employed in Hindu manuscripts, but was used not infrequently on 18th-century manuscripts from Rajasthani courts in imitation of Persian manuscripts. Here the similarity is continued by the use of a flap (*jihvā* or tongue), which is usually left resting on the top cover, rather than under it as in a Muslim binding.

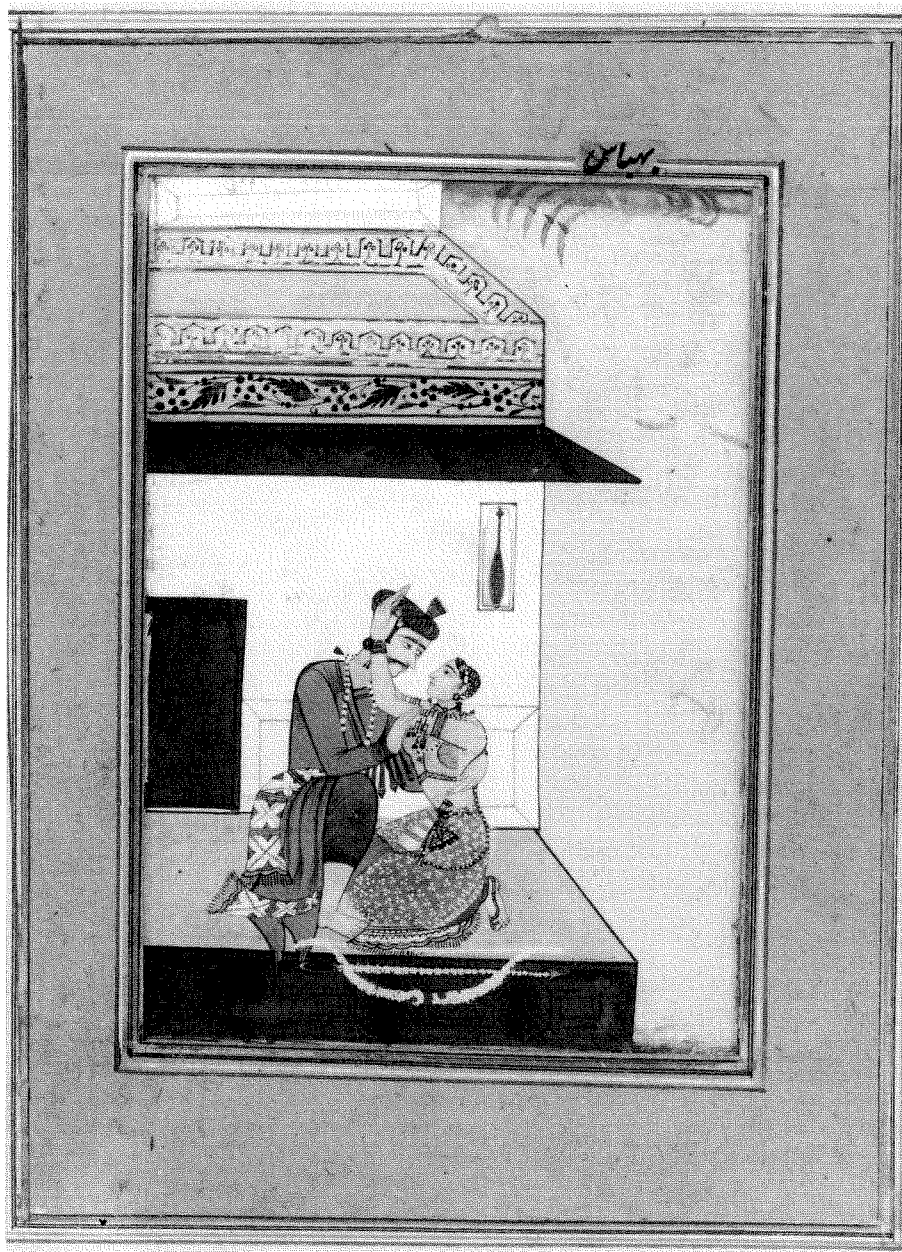
British Library, London, Or.13934.

ff.78; country paper; 34×24.5cm; 24 lines of *Nāgarī* between margins painted in yellow; text area 28×18cm; 130 paintings, in horizontal format across centre of page, about 18×8.5–13cm; with two full-page court portraits; sewn in single section; thin card binding covered with brown leather with flap, blind tooled, sewn with rest of Ms.

Bibliography: BL 1979–80, p.23 (colour repro. of f.16a).

<sup>1</sup>Beach 1974, fig.48.





102 f.7. *Vibhāsā rāgiṇī*, two lovers awakened at dawn.

#### 102 The Laud 'Rāgamālā'

An album of Indian paintings and of calligraphic panels, presented by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1639. All its contents and its binding are thus earlier than this date, but how it found its way into the Laud collection is unknown. The album consists of 30 paintings, of which 18 form a distinct set, part of a *Rāgamālā* cycle, with inscriptions in a heavy *Nasta'liq* hand identifying the *rāga* on each painting, which are of Deccani origin, c.1600–20. The other 12 paintings are of various sizes and subjects—birds, portraits, etc.—and are mostly in a provincial or popular Mughal style. All the paintings and calligraphy are mounted in frames of various coloured papers and set in mounts

of different colours, usually plain. Some of the calligraphy is on marbled paper of great beauty; some of the borders are of paper with gold designs, while others appear to have been decorated in a process akin to the Batik technique with animals and birds in soft outlines in natural colour on a ground of soft pink. The album is of the greatest importance for various reasons. Its early date, as proven by its 1639 entry into the Bodleian, makes it one of the earliest specimens of Indian art to reach Europe. Unlike other albums of this date, it reflects the taste not of the Emperor or members of his family but of a provincial nobleman or aesthete. Its simplicity renders it a charming survival of the times, and provides valuable evidence that patrons other than the grandest in the

land were discerning collectors who were able to put together the same sort of *muraqqa'* as their grander compatriots.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Laud. Or.149.

ff.65, numbered 1–67, with three omitted (21–3) and two counted twice (5); album leaves measure 37.5 × 24.5cm; 30 paintings, and 100 specimens of calligraphy; the 18 *Rāgamālā* paintings measure 15 × 10.5cm; contemporary binding of dark-brown morocco with stamped medallions, pendants and corner pieces, and plain doublures, with flap.

Bibliography: Bod. 1889, No.1900. Stooke and Khandalavala 1953.

#### 103 'Qaṣīdah' of Nusratī

Illustrated on p.109.

A panegyric in Dakhni Urdu in praise of 'Abdallāh Qutb Shāh of Golconda (1626–72) by Mulla Nusratī, copied by 'Alī ibn Naqī al-Husaynī Damghānī.

Nusratī was the favourite poet of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II of Bijapur (1656–72) for whom he composed numerous works in Dakhni Urdu, including an account of his reign, the *'Alināma*. This poem, however, is in praise of the Sultan of Golconda, so that we must suppose it to have been composed perhaps as a royal present from Bijapur to Golconda; it is unlikely to have originated from Golconda itself, as although Golconda is renowned for its sumptuous illumination during the 17th century, it does tend to follow a basically Iranian format.

The text is written in large *Riqā'* and smaller *Naskhī* in a central panel, while the margins are illuminated alternately with arabesque or geometric patterns and large stylized plants. The plants are not the delicately naturalistic ones to be seen in Mughal album borders, but massively drawn and painted stylized flowers scarcely identifiable, and sombrely coloured with gold outlining; the effect like that of the arabesque pages is rich and overpowering. A similar effect is achieved by what little Bijapuri painting from the 17th century remains on site, as in the wall paintings of the Ashraf Mahal and the decorations of the *mihrāb* in the Jāmī Masjid. This latter is recalled by the other pages of illumination, where rich colours clash, pinks and chocolates and mauve, and in their sombre tones overwhelm even the massive use of gold.

The Ms. opens with two facing *shamsas* with twelve lobes, with twining gold arabesques between which the panels are filled in in the beloved Deccani colour combinations (ff.5b, 6a). The *sarlavh* on f.6b is unusual for its use of massive peonies in pink, brown, purple and blue. Every portion of this opening is decorated with gold colours in a rich diamond pat-

tern, a lavish effect found on other pages including the colophon pages in rich pinks and browns.

British Library, London, Or.13533.

ff.33 (text ff.5b–29b); 28.5 × 15cm; paper, pale biscuit; panels of text (15.75 × 9.5cm) in nine lines, lines 1, 5 and 9 in large *Riqā'* with small *Naskhī* in two columns in between, set in clouds against gold and with gold arabesques; two opening polylobed *shamsas*, and a *sarlavh*; all margins richly illuminated; 19th-century binding, removed; the folios are kept under glass.

Bibliography: BM 1976, p.95, where the Ms. is attributed to Golconda.

#### 104 'Rasikapriyā'

Illustrated on p.108.

The Hindi treatise of Keshavadāsa on the erotic sentiment in poetical composition and the classification of heroes and heroines of poetry. The work was completed in 1591 at the court of the Rāja of Orcha.

The manuscript was copied in Gorakhpur for Muhammad Nāsir called Abu'l Fazl, son of Shaikh Dā'ūd Ghorī in 1077/1666, in the *Nasta'liq* script and is illustrated with 24 paintings in a Popular Mughal style. The work was done for a Muslim patron, and so needed to be in a style derived from the Mughal, but as the artist was apparently a Hindu he combined with it characteristics that are associated with Rajput painting—the flat treatment of architecture, the drawing of the figures, and so on. The female type, which is tall and slender with a small head, and small eyes, wears a bodice and skirt with a non-transparent *oṛhnī* wrapped round the skirt and up round the head, and resembles the 'Malwa' type of about 1680. It is not a style that can at present be associated with a particular school. Although the large town of Gorakhpur in eastern Uttar Pradesh is not known as a centre of painting, there is no reason to suppose that this manuscript could not have been done there, as other places of the same name in India are in no more promising locations.

We know nothing about its patron, as he is not included in the standard biographical dictionaries of the period, so that he is probably a local man of no great fame. The work done for him in this Ms. is less dependent on Popular Mughal sources and has developed along lines, particularly in the lofty architecture, which are seen in the so-called 'Central Indian' group of *Rāgamālās* and which are now generally attributed to Amber/Jaipur (No.100). The existence of this type of architecture in painting dated as early as 1666 may occasion a reassessment of this attribution.

Christ's College, Cambridge, MS. Dd.5.9.

Provenance: Presented by John Hutton in 1862.

ff.79; 27 × 18.6cm; paper; 15 lines of *Nasta'liq* in panels 18.5 × 11cm, with margins ruled in gold and colours; 24 miniatures, almost full-page; cover of plain red morocco with stamped medallion, corner pieces and infill panels with arabesques and inscriptions.

Bibliography: Cambridge 1922. Moti Chandra and Gupta 1965.

#### 105 'Khāvarnāma'

Illustrated on p.108.

A Persian poem in epic metre by Maulānā Muhammad ibn Husam ad-Dīn, known as ibn Husam (d.875/1470–71). It relates the fantastic adventures of 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law, with his companions, and his battles against various heathen kings principally the Shāh-i Khāvarān, whence the title of the work, and dragons and demons.

This Ms. of the work was copied by the scribe Mūlchand Multānī in 1097/1686, with 156 miniatures by the artist, 'Abd al-Hakīm Multānī. It is laid out on a grand scale, with pictures befitting its heroic subject-matter, in a style of marked peculiarity for the period. There can be little doubt that the Ms. was produced in the city of Multan in the Panjab—both scribe and artist are Multanis, and there is a close architectural resemblance between the buildings of that city, particularly the tombs of the Suhrawardi Shaikhs, and those depicted in the Ms. These famous domed octagonal tombs made of brick and covered with polychrome tilework, recur again and again in the paintings.

The paintings reveal numerous archaic features, indicating the existence of a vigorous pre-Mughal style in this area which Mughal painting did little to change. Examples are the high circular horizons, plain gold grounds, and the rock formations, all of them derived ultimately from 15th-century Persian painting via some Sultanate school. The artist also had a knowledge of antique Persian dress, of Mongol headgear, and of the Chaghtai headdress worn by high-born Mughal ladies; his tents are of the archaic circular type with domed tops and his boats have high prow and stern with animal heads, both features of Akbari manuscripts. His men are usually dressed in long gowns with bulbous turbans (with some Safavid baton turbans) with a small tail on top and a piece hanging down the back, although some wear contemporary costume; women usually wear long gowns with sometimes a shorter tunic over the top, with a girdle with very long ends which they like to wave about, or sometimes a long scarf wrapped around the body. His palette is a brilliant one of primary colours

and his draughtsmanship is crude, but these features are redeemed by an immense vitality and originality that is very rare among late 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts done for provincial Muslim patrons. The lavish use of gold and silver (the latter still mostly untarnished) creates an effect of the greatest richness.

The patron for whom this was done is unknown, the original name having been replaced by one Kamāl ad-Dīn Khān at a later date. A pair of splendid painted and lacquered covers depicting hunting and animal scenes, probably from the Deccan, were added to the Ms. about 1760, at which time the edges of the leaves were also decorated with floral patterns. It seems to have found its way into the library of Tipū Sultān at Seringapatam, whence it was removed after the fall of that city to Arthur Wellesley in 1799.

At least two other lavishly illustrated Mss. of this text in the same style survive, one in the India Office Library (Ethe 897), and the other in the Buhār Library in Calcutta (Catalogue No.328). Neither is dated or signed, but they are obviously from the same school as Add.19766, and appear to be slightly inferior copies from this Ms.

British Library, London, Add.19766.

ff.362; 35 × 27cm; creamy paper, burnished; *Nasta'liq* script in four columns between margins decorated in gold; text panels 24 × 16.75cm with margins in gold and colours, two *unwāns* in gold and colours with floral arabesques; 157 paintings, mostly T-shaped, about 23cm wide, occasionally utilizing the upper and lower margins as well; covers depicting animals and hunting scenes, surrounded by margins with aquatic animals in basket-pattern water, painted and lacquered; original leather spine decorated with floral arabesques, continued round edges of leaves—doublures of red leather with painted medallion and margin.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.642. BL 1977, pp.64–7. Titley 1979, fig.11 (f.81a in colour).

#### 106 'Kārnāma-i 'Ishq'

Illustrated on p.110.

The Book of Affairs of Love, a romance in Persian, by Rāi Anand Rām, called Mukhlis. The author was a Hindu, the son of Rāja Mardī Rām, a Khatrī of Lahore; in 1132/1719–20 he obtained an official position as Vākīl of Itimad ad-Daula Qamar ad-Dīn Khān, the Vizier of Muhammad Shāh (1719–48), with the title of Rāi Rāyān, but afterwards retired from office. He died in Delhi in 1164/1750–1. He wrote several works in Persian and Urdu, including a *Dīvān* of poems and a history of the invasion of Nādir Shāh, in 1739, of which he was an eye-witness.<sup>1</sup> His